Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-90-210 CONTENTS *30 October 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

Iraqi Assembly Allows Bulgarian Hostages' Release *[BTA]* 1
Iranian Agriculture Minister Promises Assistance *[BTA]* 1
Zhelev Receives Kalantari *[BTA]* 1
Lukanov Comments After Meeting Romania's Nastase *[BTA]* 1
Zhelev Holds Meeting With Envoy *[BTA]* 2
Gotsev, Nastase Outline New Relations *[BTA]* 2
Path Opened for Free Trade Zones With Turkey *[Ankara ANATOLIA]* 3
Zhelev Receives Polish Solidarity Leaders *[BTA]* 3
Accident in Kozloduy 'Does Not Affect' Reactors *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Lukanov Threatens To Resign Over Economic Policy *[AFP]* 3
Zhelev Addresses State Workers on Depoliticization *[DUMA 26 Oct]* 4
Trade Unions Decide Depoliticization Measures *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Podkrepa Leader Interviewed on Depoliticization *[BTA]* 5
Government Declaration on Provisional Committees *[DUMA 25 Oct]* 5
BSP Supreme Council Views Party Cadre Renewal *[DUMA 24 Oct]* 5
BSP Movement for Radical Change Adopts Program *[DUMA 28 Oct]* 6
Alternative Socialist Leader Sees Cabinet Crisis *[BTA]* 7
Opposition Leaders Speak at News Conference *[BTA]* 7
Lovech Oblast Opposition Holds Demonstration *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Black Marketeers Discovered in Mikhaylovgrad *[BTA]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Meetings Held To Mark Nation's 72d Anniversary *[CTK]* 9
Slavkov Summit Discusses Constitutional Formation 9
Leaders Attend Political Meeting *[Prague Radio]* 9
Havel Comments on Declaration *[Prague Radio]* 9
Premiers Reaffirm Coexistence *[CTK]* 9
Meciar, Pithart View Talks *[CTK]* 10
Summit Adopts Joint Declaration *[Bratislava Radio]* 10
Pithart, Meciar on Calfa Talks *[Prague Radio]* 10
Federal Parliament 23 Oct Proceedings Reported *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 24 Oct]* 11
Government Session Discusses Custom Regulations *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Oct]* 12
Mohorita Addresses Communist Party Session *[CTK]* 12
Vacek's Dismissal Seen as Overture to Calfa's Fall *[Cibula in NARODNA OBRODA 20 Oct]* 13
Formation of 'Democratic Left' Party Mooted *[CTK]* 13
Citizens Voice Attitude on Political Institutions *[CTK]* 13
Support for Independent Broadcasting Grows *[Prague Radio]* 14
Military Counterintelligence Service Dissolved *[CTK]* 14
New Foreign Intelligence Service Planned *[CTK]* 14
Text of Slovak Language Law Passed 25 Oct *[NARODNA OBRODA 27 Oct]* 14
Slovak Social Democrats Set Political Goals *[Prague Radio]* 15
Slovak Government Holds Session 27 Oct 15
Meciar Discusses Situation *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
Adopts Destabilization Measures *[CTK]* 16
Approves Other Bills, Proposals *[Prague Radio]* 17
VPN, KDH Members Comment on Slovak Crisis *[CTK]* 17
Calfa To Visit USSR for Oil Talks 30 Oct *[CTK]* 17
Calfa Interviewed on Soviet Oil Supplies *[VEREJNOST 22 Oct]* 18

Economic Adviser on Relations With USSR *[Prague Radio]* 18
Minister Klaus Meets World Bank Vice President *[CTK]* 19
ICFTU General Secretary Pays Official Visit *[CTK]* 19

HUNGARY

MSZOSZ Urges Government Talks 26 Oct *[MTI]* 20
Interior Ministry Workers Stress Order, Security *[Budapest Radio]* 20
SZDSZ Issues Appeal on Demonstrations 28 Oct *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Describes Worries *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Government Issues Appeal to Schools *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Pro-Government Demonstration Occurs 28 Oct *[MTI]* 20
TV President Denies Assault Reports *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Jeszensky Holds News Conference 29 Oct *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Possible Fuel Price Liberalization Examined *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Horvath Thanks Police for Keeping Public Order *[Budapest Radio]* 22
National Assembly Session Held 30 Oct 22
Antall Offers To Resign *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Interior Minister Speaks *[Budapest Radio]* 23
SZDSZ Representative Speaks *[Budapest Radio]* 23
FKgP Urges Accelerated Reforms *[Budapest Radio]* 25
MSZP Chairman Presents Party Views *[Budapest Radio]* 25
FIDESZ Respresentative Speaks *[Budapest Radio]* 26
Szabad Speaks on Civil Disobedience *[Budapest Radio]* 27
Update on Prime Minister's Health Status *[MTI]* 28
Fuel Industry Official on Gasoline Reserves *[Budapest Radio]* 28
Kadar Seeks International Confidence in Economy *[MTI]* 28
Austrian Trains Deliver 70,000 Gallons of Gas *[Budapest Radio]* 28
Jeszenszky on U.S. Oil for Eastern Europe *[Budapest TV]* 28
German Economic Delegation Ends One-Day Visit *[MTI]* 29
Romania Pledges Support for Maintenance of Order *[Budapest Radio]* 29
EEC Message Recognizes Political Change *[MTI]* 29
Council of Europe Membership Expected 7 Nov *[Rome ANSA]* 29
Fur Meets With Belgian Counterpart 25 Oct *[MTI]* 30

POLAND

Candidates Answer PAP Questions on Presidency 31
Candidates Present Views on Radio Program *[Warsaw Radio]* 32
Presidential Candidates Hold Town Meetings *[PAP]* 33
Walesa Discusses 'Regulator' Role as President *[PAP]* 33
Walesa Urges Participation in Elections *[Warsaw TV]* 34
Mazowiecki Explains Differences With Walesa *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
Mazowiecki Outlines Concept of Presidency *[Warsaw TV]* 34
Solidarity Mazowsze Chapter Holds Congress *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 22 Oct]* 35
Socialist Party Congress Opens 27 Oct *[PAP]* 35
National Bank Publishes New Financial Monthly *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 22 Oct]* 36
Bialystok Police Directed To Protect Buildings *[Warsaw TV]* 36
Police End KPN Members' Sit-in in Katowice *[PAP]* 36
Defense Minister Comments on Army 'Transformations' *[Warsaw Radio]* 36
USSR's Gorbachev Sends Telegram to Jaruzelski *[PAP]* 37
Border Talks With CSFR on Border Traffic Begin *[PAP]* 37
2-Day Talks on FRG Border Treaty Commence *[Hamburg DPA]* 37
Geremek Meets North Atlantic Assembly Head *[PAP]* 37

ROMANIA

Reactions to Continued Moldavian Separatist Trends 38
Rallies Show Solidarity With Moldavia *[ROMPRES]* 38
Buzau Demonstration Supports Bessarabia *[Bucharest Radio]* 38
Protest March for Unity, Integrity *[ROMPRES]* 38

PNL, PNT-cd Event Supports Bessarabia *[ROMPRES]* 38
Iliescu, Party Leaders Discuss Moldavia *[ROMPRES]* 38
Iliescu Statement on Tension *[Bucharest Radio]* 39
Refugees' Union Supports Moldavia *[ROMPRES]* 39
Army General Dies During Visit to PRC *[ROMPRES]* 39
Nastase Statement Upon Return From Bulgaria *[ROMPRES]* 39
Ambassador in Bucharest Explains Border Closure *[ROMPRES]* 39
FDGR Issues, Claims of Deported People Noted *[NEUER WEG 18 Oct]* 40
BBC Broadcast Termed 'Absolutely False' *[Bucharest Radio]* 40
TAROM Airlines Inaugurates New Route to U.S. *[ROMPRES]* 41
Iliescu, Roman Greet Turkish Counterparts *[ROMPRES]* 41
Iliescu Receives Australian Businessmen *[ROMPRES]* 41
UNDP To Help Transition to Market Economy *[ROMPRES]* 41
Senate Proceedings Resume 29 Oct *[ROMPRES]* 42
Deputies' Assembly Meets; Debates Amendment Law *[ROMPRES]* 42
Examines Draft Bills *[ROMPRES]* 42
PSDR Rejects Possible Merger With FSN *[Bucharest Radio]* 42
Peasant Party Leader on Policies, Secret Service *[Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG 23 Oct]* 43
PNT-cd Conferences Improve Political Activity *[DREPTATEA 19 Oct]* 43
Antitotalitarian Forum Ends Convention in Cluj *[ROMPRES]* 44
Magureanu on Aim of Information Service *[Bucharest Radio]* 44
Government Reshuffle: Dismissals, Appointments *[LIBERTATEA 18-19 Oct]* 44
• Cornea Views Human Rights, Pluralism *[22 28 Sep]* 45
Timisoara Trial Resumes 29 Oct; Witnesses Heard *[ROMPRES]* 47
Curticeanu Heard 30 Oct *[ROMPRES]* 47
• Journalists Draft Charter on Freedom of Press *[ROMANIA LIBERA 21 Sep]* 47
• State Subsidies to Enterprises Criticized *[TINERETUL LIBER 21, 22 Sep]* 48

YUGOSLAVIA

Iraqi Minister Expresses 'Surprise' Over Boycott *[TANJUG]* 52
Albanian Environmental Delegation Arrives *[TANJUG]* 52
Slovenia To Open Representative Office in Vienna *[TANJUG]* 52
Markovic Meets Workers on Reform Obstructions *[TANJUG]* 52
Markovic Rejects Recall of Deputy Minister *[TANJUG]* 53
Mesic Inauguration, 20 Oct Assembly Session Viewed *[Klasinc in DELO 20 Oct]* 53
New 'Independant' Weekly Published in Belgrade *[TANJUG]* 54
Yugoslav Workers' Party Congress Reelects Leader *[TANJUG]* 54
Drnovsek Sees Serbian Measures as Destabilizing *[TANJUG]* 54
Mihajlo Markovic Denies Leaving Serb Socialists *[POLITIKA 18 Oct]* 55
Serb Ruling Party 'Deals Roughly' With Opponents *[DELO 19 Oct]* 55
Serbian Renewal Movement Two-Day Convention Held 55
Vuk Draskovic Elected President *[TANJUG]* 55
Named Candidate for Serbian President *[TANJUG]* 56
Presidium Elected; Conference Ends *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Draskovic Discusses Possible Boycott *[TANJUG]* 56
Serbian Democracy Movement Elects New Chairman *[TANJUG]* 56
Opposition Parties To Appear on Belgrade Radio *[Belgrade Radio]* 57
Bosnian Assembly To Offer New Model for Unity *[TANJUG]* 57
Bosnian Election Body Appeals for Proper Conduct *[OSLOBODJENJE 23 Oct]* 57
Bosnian Muslim Party Factions Fail To Reconcile *[BORBA 23 Oct]* 57
New Muslim Party Founded in Bosnia-Hercegovina *[TANJUG]* 58
Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia Faces Split *[VJESNIK 21 Oct]* 58
Democratic Labor Party Founded in Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 58
Splits Alleged in Serb Socialist Party of Kosovo *[FLAKE E VELLAZERIMIT 26 Oct]* 58
Slovene Unions Sever Ties With Yugoslav TU *[TANJUG]* 59
New Serb Nationalist Party Formed in Vojvodina *[TANJUG]* 59
Macedonian Action Party Calls Rally for 4 Nov *[TANJUG]* 59

Iraqi Assembly Allows Bulgarian Hostages' Release

AU3010095090 Sofia BTA in English 2148 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 29 Oct (BTA)—The parliament of Iraq has approved President Saddam Husayn's proposal to let the 700 Bulgarians who are in Iraq to go back to Bulgaria, REUTER announced from Baghdad.

Iranian Agriculture Minister Promises Assistance

AU2910205990 Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—Iran is prepared to deliver to Bulgaria one or one million and a half tons of petrol and almost one milliard cubic meters of natural gas and to grant about 100 million dollars.

This was underlined at the meeting Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov had today with Mr. Issa Kalantari, minister of agriculture of Iran, who is paying a visit here in his capacity of chairman of the Iranian side of the Joint Committee for Economic and Technological Cooperation.

Until the end of the year Iran will supply about 400 thousand tons of petrol and another 400 thousand tons at the beginning of next year. As to the delivery of natural gas, a technical solution to the problem should be sought for, because it will be received via the USSR.

It was agreed that in the following weeks and months Bulgaria would receive 200 million dollars as advance payment including the servicing of the future trade with Iran. The project includes the supply of machinery, electric appliances, products of the tobacco industry, electric and motor trucks and Bulgarian engineering activity in Iran.

Minister Kalantari expressed the wish of his government to render assistance for the extension of Bulgaro-Iranian economic and technological cooperation during the difficult period of Bulgaria's transition to market economy.

The possibilities of increasing the two countries' trade were also discussed. It is envisaged that by the end of the year Bulgaria will import 500 Renault-5 motor cars, microbuses made under license of Mercedes, chassis and counterweights or other car instruments. Bulgaria will export cutters, lathes, control-panel machining centers, refrigerator compressors, river ships.

Interviewed by a BTA reporter, Mr. Atanas Popov, minister of transport and representative of the Bulgarian side in the joint committee, expressed his satisfaction with the agreements, the annual value of which will be 400 million dollars only in the field of trade.

Zhelev Receives Kalantari

AU2910215090 Sofia BTA in English 2101 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—The President of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, today received Mr. Issa Kalantari, minister of agriculture of Iran.

At the meeting it was pointed out that based on the traditionally good Bulgaro-Iranian relations, the two countries'cooperation can be developed ever more usefully in the new conditions. The Iranian minister expressed his country's readiness to help Bulgaria, as much possible, in overcoming the crisis more rapidly. President Zhelev repeated the invitation extended in 1989 to the Iranian President, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, to visit Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Lukanov Comments After Meeting Romania's Nastase

AU2910162890 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 29 Oct 90

["A. Lukanov: Bulgaro-Romanian Cooperation Has No Other Alternative"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov stated that Bulgaria will have to either update the old generating units of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant by bringing them in line with the highest international criteria and taking into account the recommendations contained in the international experts' report or close them down. Our position is categorical we cannot make a compromise with the safety of our own people and the safety of the neighboring countries, he underlined after the meeting he had today with the Romanian foreign minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov pointed out that Bulgaria would like the problem of the Romanian Cerna Voda N-Plant to be considered on the same basis.

Discussing the ecological problem for which the two sides spared a lot of time, Mr. Lukanov expressed once again Bulgaria's firm conviction that some of the productions in Giurgiu (on the Romanian bank of the Danube) should be moved to another place. The Bulgarian side maintains this position not because it wants to sour its relations with Romania, but because it considers the findings to be objective. Of course, the two sides will wait for the results of the forthcoming international experts' inspection.

In the last eight years the chemical works in Giurgiu have been systematically polluting the air in Bulgarian city of Ruse (pop. 25,000).

At the meeting the shared conviction was expressed that being neighbors, Bulgaria and Romania have no other alternative but make efforts for the constructive development of their relations. In the present conditions of democratization in both countries special attention should be paid to their economic relations. They should

look for possibilities of encouraging contacts between their state-run and private companies and joint ventures which are becoming ever more autonomous, thus taking advantage of the favourable factors of geographical proximity and structurally complementing their economies.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov stressed the importance of yet another problem the attitude of the public in each of the countries to their neighbors and to their bilateral cooperation. He personally is greatly concerned over the escalation of the attacks and accusations published both in the Bulgarian and the Romanian press. Some of them are founded on fact, but he is worried by the frequent confrontation of the two people.

"We should take care of the climate in our bilateral relations even when we are faced with painful problems and differences", the Bulgarian premier underlined.

Zhelev Holds Meeting With Envoy

AU2910130590 Sofia BTA in English 1242 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today received Mr. Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, who arrived on an official visit here last night.

The Bulgarian head of state pointed out that the traditionally good Bulgaro-Romanian relations date back to the national revival period. It was emphasized that in the new conditions, when both countries are democratizing and when new shared interests come to the fore, their relations should be rid of "petty" and "troublesome" problems like the problem arising from the condition of the environment in the area of Ruse, a problem which must find a fair settlement.

The sides share the view that bilateral cooperation should be pursued in politics, economics and culture.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev invited Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, to visit Bulgaria at his convenience.

This morning Mr. Adrian Nastase opened official talks with the Bulgarian foreign minister, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev. In their first session they discussed Bulgaro-Romanian relations. The talks will continue in the afternoon.

Gotsev, Nastase Outline New Relations

AU2910214990 Sofia BTA in English 2048 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—At the official talks the ministers of foreign affairs, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev and Mr. Adrian Nastase, held here today, Bulgaria and Romania began speaking of placing the two countries' relations on the basis of new constructive principles.

At today's news conference the two ministers unanimously emphasized their satisfaction with the meeting, which is the first in the last 12 years that was held on the level of foreign ministers.

In few hours' time we managed to discuss many aspects of our bilateral relations, including some difficulties, Mr. Adrian Nastase said.

Our meeting was very productive. We talked not as countries covered by the umbrella of a common ideology, but as independent countries following a foreign policy of their own and respecting each other, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev pointed out.

Special attention was paid to the ecological problems in the border areas of the two countries. The ministers confirmed the agreement reached through diplomatic channels according to which in November the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) will carry out an expertise inspection in the Ruse-Giurgiu region and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) will inspect the region of the Bulgarian nuclear power plant in Kozloduy. The ministers confirmed the readiness of their governments to abide by the recommendations made by UNEP and IAEA.

At the news conference it was specified that today the ambassadors of Bulgaria and Romania to Geneva presented the letters sent by the two countries to confirm their agreement with the inspection to be carried out by UNEP.

There are possibilities for activating direct contacts in the field of economy. The new factors that have made it possible are the introduction of free market economy in the two countries, the liberalization of foreign economic relations, effecting payments in free convertible currency at current international prices. The problem of reconsidering the legal framework of economic relations was also discussed. The question is about the now operative 50 agreements.

The Bulgarian foreign minister announced that the necessity of revising the agreement on cooperation and mutual assistance signed in the 1970's was emphasized.

The two sides outlined certain measures for activating the two countries' cooperation in the field of culture and information and for resuming the activity of the joint committees on history and protection of historical and cultural monuments.

As the two ministers pointed out, there was not a single problem to have been passed over in silence during the talks, including the increased exchange of people and commodities in the border areas and black marketing. Both sides expressed their readiness to take measures for control and for easing the traffic by constructing new facilities. While in 1989 300 thousand people crossed the bridge connecting Ruse and Giurgiu, only in the past nine months of this year they were one million 600 thousand.

When discussing international problems Mr. Lyuben Gotsev and Mr. Adrian Nastase concentrated mainly on the all-European process. They both consider that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Tirana was successful.

The two ministers are convinced that the forthcoming CSCE summit level meeting in Paris will contribute to the preservation and strengthening of the stability in Europe and to the transition to a new all-European system of security.

The two sides hold similar position on the Persian Gulf crisis.

The Romanian minister of foreign affairs is leaving Bulgaria tomorrow in the morning.

Path Opened for Free Trade Zones With Turkey

TA2710063890 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1635 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Ankara (ANATOLIA)—A protocol signed between Turkey and Bulgaria in Sofia on Friday envisages free zones to be set up by both countries for each other's benefit.

The document was signed at the end of a series of contacts by Turkish State Minister Isin Celebi in the Bulgarian capital.

It includes an agreement that both countries will establish and develop two-way coastal trade in the Black Sea.

Turkey will also supply information to Bulgaria on (?operating) free zones.

Under the protocol Turkey will supply Bulgaria with 500,000 tonnes of fuel oil until the end of April 1991 and 50 megawatts of eletric energy up until March next year.

Feasibility studies will be carried out on the possibility of refining oil owned by the Turkish refinery company Tupras in Bulgaria.

The Turkish Eximbank has offered a loan of 75 million dollars to Bulgaria to be used in the development of bilateral trade. Talks will also be commenced on agreements to prevent double taxation and safeguard mutual investments.

Zhelev Receives Polish Solidarity Leaders

AU3010094490 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—The president of Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, received Mr. Maciej Jankowski, member of the national leadership of the Polish trade union organization Solidarity, and Mr. Maciej Jenike, head of the International Relations Department of Solidarity. They exchanged information about the situation in the two countries. The guests presented the Bulgarian president with a honorary insignia commemorating the 10th anniversary of Solidarity.

Accident in Kozloduy 'Does Not Affect' Reactors

AU3010103090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Veselin Angelov, our correspondent in Vratsa, sent us a report which was also confirmed by the Committee on Power Supply.

This morning the fifth 1,000-megawatt and third 440-megawatt reactors of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant were switched off because of an accident [avariya], which does not affect the nuclear reactors themselves. Subsequently, the plant's timetable has been disrupted. The necessary work for switching on the capacities affected by the accident is being done.

Lukanov Threatens To Resign Over Economic Policy

AU3010130690 Paris AFP in English 1246 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, Oct 30 (AFP) — Bulgarian Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov threatened to resign Tuesday [30 October] if the opposition refuses to support his government's economic policies.

In an interview published by the opposition paper "Democracy", Mr. Lukanov said he had "firmly decided" to resign if the policies proposed by his government do not gain widespread support from the constituent Assembly (parliament) and the public. But Peter Beron, president of the main opposition coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], said Monday that his group would not support the government's programme.

The programme would introduce quick and unpopular measures to move this East European nation towards a market economy. If the progamme was adopted state price controls on 90 per cent of goods would be dropped from next January, which would likely raise prices by between 300 to 400 per cent. The policy was recently approved by World Bank and International Monetary Fund experts.

The proposed policy, due to be debated from Tuesday by the Assembly, was based on a proposal by U.S. Chamber of Commerce advisers and is close to the UDF's own electoral platform. But, last week, several UDF officials said the opposition would prefer introducing its own programme adopted by a government in which it held the key jobs.

A poll taken in early October showed that for the first time since last June's elections UDF would win 38 per cent of the votes, compared to 25.6 for the ruling Socialist (BSP, ex-Communist) party. Of those polled, 18.8 per cent said they would not vote. The BSP's

mandate in the constituent Assembly where it holds an outright majority ends on December 31, 1991.

Zhelev Addresses State Workers on Depoliticization

AU3010092890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Address of the president to the employees of the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Court, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the National Intelligence Service, and the National Protection Service; place and date not given]

[Text] On 24 October the Grand National Assembly adopted the Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Law on Political Parties, according to which military personnel and those serving in the military troops of other departments, the officers, sergeants, and soldiers of the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as the ministry's personnel, the National Intelligence Service, the National Protection Service, the judges, prosecutors, investigators, and the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Presidency cannot be members of political parties, movements, and coalitions which have political goals.

I think that against the background of the complex and difficult processes that develop in our society and the grave crisis that has engulfed the country, the decision adopted by the Grand National Assembly represents a necessary step in the transition toward a democratic state based on the rule of the law. I am convinced that this is one of the most important preconditions in creating internal and international prerequisites for constructing Bulgaria's new image, strengthening confidence in Bulgaria, implementing independent and balanced policy, open to the world and based on universal values and ideals, guaranteeing national security, public stability, and civic peace, ensuring the irreversible character of the democratic processes and accelerating them, and protecting the citizens' rights and freedoms in a reliable manner.

The depoliticization will afford the total and final alleviation of those important state organs from the remnants of the totalitarian past, the unnatural and undemocratic monopoly of a single political party over their activities, and their merging with the party-state power, which served the interests of the totalitarian regime. This step must mark the beginning of a strengthening of confidence toward those state organs, increasing their authority and dignity in the eyes of the people, and I hope that all political and public forces will cooperate in this enterprise.

I am convinced that the depoliticization will accelerate the reforms in those departments and their turning into modern state structures in accordance with the experience of the developed countries and the traditions of the democratic and patriotic Bulgarian spirit.

Under the present conditions of political, economic, and social instability and hesitant and inefficient state organs and institutions, we need a sound foundation of state power. The departments which are undergoing depoliticization must form such a foundation, and it is the depoliticization that will facilitate their stabilization. I hope that this decision will have a provisional character, until a more comprehensive law on state employees is adopted.

A difficult and dramatic period is beginning for the cadres of those state departments. Each of them must adopt his own decision. Any pressure, regardless of the direction from which it comes, is absolutely inadmissible, and we all must eliminate it and ensure the necessary guarantees for all honest, uncompromised, professional, highly trained, and capable cadres at all levels of those departments. Those cadres must be calm and convinced that illegal and unfounded political persecution and harassment will not be allowed. As a head of state and initiator of this change I understand my responsibility, and will do everything that depends on me, with the support of the government and the Grand National Assembly, to quickly prepare and adopt legal norms and economic measures that will guarantee all this and will protect the professional and social status of the employees of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Court, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the National Intelligence Service, and the National Protection Service.

I understand that the ideological convictions of man are not changed by administrative acts or by compulsion. However, I believe that serving one's kin and motherland, defending the motherland, and protecting the national interests and security are above any party goals and bias, and are a matter of duty and honor for the organs called upon to implement those important state functions.

In the name of new and democratic Bulgaria we shall continue to rely on the patriotism, selflessness, professional competence, and sense of civic responsibility of the personnel of the Armed Forces, the military personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the judges, prosecutors, investigators, and employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Presidency, the National Intelligence Service, and the National Protection Service.

Trade Unions Decide Depoliticization Measures

AU2910212890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] At its meeting, the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria assessed the current political polarization of society, and the trends toward a depoliticization of national institutions, and the efforts by certain circles to introduce a political split into the confederation. In considering all

these factors, the Executive Committee adopted a decision in connection with the depoliticization of its personnel staff in accordance with the confederation's platform based on political independence.

Seven of the 15 Executive Committee members who were previously affiliated with four different political forces decided to give up their membership in these political groups.

Podkrepa Leader Interviewed on Depoliticization

AU3010095190 Sofia BTA in English 0819 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 30 Oct (BTA)—The Podkrepa Labor Confederation which has declared its depoliticization will stay in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] as observer.

Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, the leader of Podkrepa, explains in an interview brought out in today's OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK that in the conditions of communism any similar organization is politicized by necessity despite its desire to be independent. In his opinion now the old infrastructure of society is hindering independent trade union activity. Podkrepa will be a purely trade union organization. In the conditions of transition to market economy it will play an important role, because by tradition politicians curtail the rights of the working people and by tradition the trade unions have got to safeguard them, Mr. Trenchev states.

Podkrepa, which is the co-founder of two foundations, will be engaged charity activity in the future too, not only for the purpose of helping along a lot of socially disadvantaged people, but also for the purpose of promoting morality in society.

One year after Podkrepa announced its program, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev is optimistic over the future of the organization which began its activity only with seven convinced enthusiasts, but now is several hundreds of thousands people strong.

Government Declaration on Provisional Committees

AU3010093790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed BTA report: "Some 242 Municipalities Have Provisional Administrations"]

[Text] In 242 of the 273 municipalities across the country executive committees have been appointed by a decree signed by the prime minister. An agreement on the provisional committees' composition has been reached in 18 additional municipalities. Only 13 municipalities remain without an agreement on their provisional executive committees.

Provisional executive committees have also been appointed in five oblast people's councils. The composition of two more has been agreed upon. Consultations are being conducted about the composition of the committees in two additional oblasts. This has been reported by the Council of Ministers.

The governmental declaration, disseminated through the BTA, points out that the consultations have taken place in a constructive spirit, while observing the generally accepted principles and striving toward adopting balanced decisions.

Despite the great efforts made during the consultations, certain groups and people continue to consider their opinion to be the only correct ones.

In recent days groups of the political forces participating in the consultations and organized at a local level, initiated actions which crudely violated the legal and public order. Without any signed order on the appointment of provisional executive committees, inadmissible influence has been exerted over municipal leaders at the Rodopi and Maritsa Municipalities in Plovdiv Oblast, and attempts have been made to impose self-appointed leaders.

The Council of Ministers declare that such and similar manifestations represent a crude violation of the laws and an attempt to compromise the peaceful and civilized development of the democratic processes in the country. The self-appointed people will have no official duties.

The Council of Ministers thinks that the Chief Prosecutor's Office must take a stand on those incidents, and that the oblast and municipal leaderships, in cooperation with all political forces, must adopt legal and uncompromising steps for preventing such manifestations.

BSP Supreme Council Views Party Cadre Renewal

AU3010101090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Vasil Popov report: "Political Mobilization Before Elections"]

[Text] On 23 October at the Georgi Kirkov Hall a joint meeting of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the BSP parliamentary group took place.

Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman and coordinating secretary of the BSP Supreme Council, read a report on the BSP tasks in the forthcoming municipal elections. He analyzed the country's sociopolitical situation and described it as complex and ambiguous.

The speaker reviewed in detail the reasons for the party's decreased influence among certain strata of the population. Those reasons were analyzed against the background of the complex internal and international situation after the 39th BSP Congress.

Aleksandur Tomov stressed the BSP's support for Andrey Lukanov's program and outlined the related party tasks on the eve of the elections. Specific forms of work during the forthcoming period were also proposed. The necessity to naturally develop the BSP accountability-election campaign into a campaign for proposing candidates for mayors and advisers in the municipal organs was pointed out. The tasks of the BSP representatives in the provisional executive committees were also pointed out.

The necessity to resolve certain urgent issues related to the change of the party and the decisions of the 39th BSP Congress was reviewed in detail. The BSP Supreme Council and the parliamentary group were informed about the establishment of a special group in the BSP Supreme Council. This group's function is to analyze the specific guilt and name the persons responsible for the crisis in which the country finds itself, and to accelerate the speed of the related investigation. It was announced that a decision of the Presidium on the issue of the party's property, exists in principle.

The participants were informed about the establishment of a center for the party's election campaign, the necessity to establish BSP regional coordination councils, and the tasks of the party clubs. The speaker analyzed the lessons from the past elections and proposed specific measures related to preparing the forthcoming elections.

Special attention was devoted to the necessity to prompt the local party council to actively work to satisfy the population's needs especially during the forthcoming difficult winter. In the final analysis it was pointed out that the local party councils will assume the main bulk of the election campaign.

The necessity to fundamentally renew and rejuvenate the party's cadres, including the selection of the candidates for the municipal organs, was one of the report's central issues. Tomov stressed that special attention must be devoted to preventing any cadre compromises. The elections must be utilized both for renewing the cadres and for the final dissociation from BSP members, who have lost their moral image, and who have taken part in the violations.

Aleksandur Tomov also spoke about the formulation of clear, fundamental, and categorical positions on relations with other political parties, and on using cooperation, well-based confrontation, and prudent compromise in accordance with the specific circumstances. Different preelection coalitions are possible in different places.

During the debate Andrey Lukanov clarified character of the governmental program.

Afterward, some of the positions the parliamentary group must defend at the Grand National Assembly were discussed.

The meeting adopted decisions on establishing a preelection center and forming a group to prepare the political decision related to the elections. Groups within the BSP Supreme Council to work in various areas of life were established.

In connection with the decision made at the BSP Supreme Council's first session, the following representatives of ideological trends within the BSP were elected members of the Presidium: Rumen Georgiev from the "Road to Europe; Boyan Kirov from Demos [Movement for Democratic Socialism]; and Rumyana Modeva from the "Marxist Alternative."

BSP Movement for Radical Change Adopts Program

AU2910210590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Dora Kostadinova report: "The Movement for Radical Change in the Bulgarian Socialist Party Adopted Program for Action"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Movement for Radical Change will soon publicize its views on the Bulgarian Communist Party's [BCP] political responsibility for the era of its rule and on holding the culprits for the current crisis in our country personally responsible.

This was one of the main issues described in the platform of the Movement for Radical Change which was adopted yesterday at an expanded session of the Coordination Council. The program contains specific tasks expected to be resolved by the end of the year also in connection with the forthcoming local elections.

The movement demands that the BSP Supreme Council should establish a special commission in charge of investigating the property and financial situation of the party. According to the program, the public is entitled to expect from the National Assembly deputies who are supporters of the Movement for Radical Change to adopt legislative initiatives aimed against the efforts of manipulating the former political nomenklatura into leading economic positions.

The program also envisages that the local coordination councils and clubs of the movement should organize meetings and discussions on the subject: "Years of change: 9 September 1944 to 10 November 1989" expected to take place in November. Representatives of all political forces, social organizations, and movements will be invited to participate in the discussions.

A new Operational Bureau of the Movement for Radical Change was elected. It is composed of 15 members.

The introductory speech at yesterday's session was delivered by economist Dimitur Ivanov, who dwelled on the government program in detail. According to the established tradition, the introductory speech expressed the speaker's personal opinion, rather than a common, coordinated view.

He approved the government program. It contains standard economic measures which are commonly applied in countries affected by crisis. For this reason, the opposition cannot object to the program as a matter of principle. According to Dimitur Ivanov, however, the disadvantage is that such programs are suitable for civilized countries. He expressed doubt that the program can be implemented by the BSP one-party government, not because the government is incompetent, or incapable, but because it will not be able to convince the people. Mothers will demonstrate in the streets, not because the program is inhumane, but because it was initiated by the BSP. The speaker proposed to reshuffle the cabinet as soon as possible.

The subject of guilt and responsibility was a crucial issue in yesterday's discussions of the radicals.

Valentin Vatsev, chairman of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] faction stressed that he does not approve of the party's guilt being discussed in a crude language reserved for criminals.

Anzhel Vagenshtayn wanted to know whether the assumption of collective guilt by a party has a precedent in any country. Which party assumed the responsibility for the Vietnam war in the United States—the Republicans, or the Democrats? —he asked.

According to Zakhari Zakhariev and Miroslav Popov, the question of guilt is really justified, but it is also the greatest ideological hoax of the moment. The logical development of the efforts aimed at shifting personal responsibility to the entire party, inevitably leads to "treating every party member as a criminal and turning him into an outlaw."

Ventsel Raychev also dwelled on the distinction between criminal offense and political responsibility of the BCP as the former ruling political force in the country. Nevertheless, he also called attention at the danger represented by the specially established commission under the BSP Supreme Council in charge of dealing with the issue, expressing his misgiving that the question of guilt might be manipulated into an effort to exculpate the party as a whole.

Members of the BSP Supreme Council Presidency and National Assembly deputies of the BSP faction attended the session.

Alternative Socialist Leader Sees Cabinet Crisis

AU2910131890 Sofia BTA in English 1245 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—The Alternative Socialist Organization (ASO) believes that very soon there will be a new alignment of political forces in Bulgaria, that a cabinet crisis is imminent and that it can lead to a parliamentary crisis, ASO's new leader Mr. Manol Manolov told a news conference today.

The ASO was formed as a faction within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. At the latest national conference of the organization a week ago most of the delegates voted for a breakaway of the ASO from the BSP. The organization split into two: ASO (outside the BSP) and ASO Inner Party Opposition (within the BSP). According to Mr. Manol Manolov, the new leader of the ASO which broke away from the BSP, the Socialist Party now has a membership not greater than 200,000. "Our analyses show that the people who remained in the BSP cannot be influenced by the ASO and that is why it is pointless that we stay in that party as an inner party opposition," Mr. Manolov observed. The ASO supports the declaration of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) which urged the BSP to accept the guilt for the catastrophe and to return the illegally acquired property to the state. The Alternative Socialist Organization joins the initiative of the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) for a citizens trial of the culprits for the catastrophe.

The ASO sets itself the immediate task of uniting the socialist parties and movements into a single left-wing social democratic center. Mr. Manol Manolov pointed out that this week the ASO will hold talks with the leaders of the Social Democratic Party Dr. Petur Dertliev and of the Alternative Socialist Party Prof. Nikolay Vasilev and that talks with the BSP leadership will be held, too.

Opposition Leaders Speak at News Conference

AU2910193490 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—The opposition will not support in parliament the program presented by Premier Andrey Lukanov's government.

"What does the government want our support for? In all states the party which has parliamentary majority forms a cabinet and does not want to be given support by the opposition," the leader of the opposition, Dr. Petur Beron, said today at the regular briefing of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS].

The opposition made a protest against the definition of the program made by the leader of the Socialists. He said in parliament last week that the program was of the government and not of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

Asked if the opposition would be ready to present a program of its own if Mr. Lukanov resigned, Dr. Beron answered that the UDF was ready with it. "A big part of the Lukanov program actually belongs to the opposition, but the opposition experts have a number of other concrete developments," Dr. Beron said. He emphasized the great popularity of the UDF confirmed by the latest opinion polls and the confidence the international institutions have in the UDF.

"Premier Lukanov has been repeating over and over again that he would not carry out the government

prog... without parliamentary consensus. But we do not believe in his categoricalness. He said he would not head a one-party government, but did it," the spokesman for the UDF, Mr. Mikhayl Nedelchev said. The opposition would not put trust in him if he freezes his membership in the BSP "being a third-generation Socialist, he cannot change".

Dr. Petur Beron stressed several times that the UDF sticks to the idea of forming a coalition cabinet dominated by the opposition.

As long as there is a Socialist government, the blame for Bulgaria's present catastrophe would hardly be really personalized, the opposition activists said today. They stated that it was inadmissible and immoral for former Communist leaders whose blame for the crisis can be proved to have companies and work abroad. They mentioned Venelin Kotsev, former BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] CC [Central Committee] secretary responsible for matters of ideology, Ognyan Doynov, former Politburo member, Nikolay Zhishev, former Communist administrator of the city of Burgas.

The opposition considers that although the procedure of stripping some national representatives of their parliamentary immunity is slow, it is not impossible. "Socialist Dimitur Yonchev is in for unpleasant talks," Dr. Beron said. Last Friday it was announced in parliament that Yonchev had issued instructions for the concealment of certain BSP archives which could discredited that party.

According to the leaders of the opposition the UDF does not want a parliamentary crisis. "It is the BSP to blame for the protraction," Dr. Petur Beron said. "The UDF is for the adoption of all important laws, for quickly working out the new constitution, but naturally without rushing through them." According to Dr. Beron the draft of the constitution may be ready by April-May 1991.

Commenting on the charges made by the newly set up right-wing bourgeois party Bulgarian Business Bloc that the UDF has deviated to the left wing, Dr. Beron said that the Bulgarians can use their own judgment in deciding who the leaders of the changes should be. "Everybody realizes we should take the path to capitalism," he said, pointing out that the problem is to avoid the terrible "Dickensian" poverty. Maybe the opposition is accused of "left-wing partiality" because of its Social Democratic ideas (the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party is UDF member).

Lovech Oblast Opposition Holds Demonstration

AU2910212690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Under the slogans: The Bulgarian Socialist Party hinders the outcome from crisis; Trial for the culprits responsible for the third national disaster; The Communist nomenklatura is the enemy of democracy; Lukanov's program is more devious than ever; and other similar slogans, a protest meeting of the united opposition from Lovech and the Lovech Oblast was held in the central square of Lovech town tonight.

Speaking for more than one hour several National Assembly deputies and leaders of various opposition political forces from the oblast expressed their discontent with the formation of the provisional local governments which they described as illegal.

In this connection the participants in the meeting adopted a special protest declaration, in which it is stressed that the deliberate and arbitrary concocting of provisional local governments is just dust in the people's eyes, and a false guarantee of democratic changes and reforms.

The declaration also says that the symbolic participation of the opposition in the provisional governments and the appointment of Bulgarian Socialist Party functionaries to presidential posts in the provisional governments are used as cover for their past and present political and economic crimes, and are aimed at the accumulation of capital by the former ruling Communist functionaries.

The united opposition from Lovech Oblast insists on revising and abolishing the decision on provisional governments.

Black Marketeers Discovered in Mikhaylovgrad

AU2910210090 Sofia BTA in English 1937 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)—Today a real cornucopia poured out its contents for the inhabitants of Mikhaylovgrad (Northern Bulgaria). Goods started running out of it after the police inspected some shops in the town. Thousands of pairs of men's, women's and children's shoes imported from Italy, France, Portugal and China were found there. Their total value is about 240,000 leva. Everybody was roused by the discovery and the people hurried to form long lines in the morning. As there were some incidents, the the police had to keep watch.

In other shops the police discovered chocolate, butter, cheese, yellow cheese and crystal sets. Goods to the tune of 10,582 leva's worth were seized from private merchants because they were selling them without license. Eight statements were drawn. Two swindlers who had concealed 100 kilograms of sugar stolen from the local sugar works were detained in the town of Lom. From September 19 to October 5 they had stolen 600 kilograms of sugar which were sold at prices exceeding twice or three-fold the official one.

In the city of Burgas the police discovered scarce goods concealed in a free shop amounting to 22,000 dollars' worth that included sharp videocassette players, Sony, Toshiba, Panasonic and Philips TV sets.

Meetings Held To Mark Nation's 72d Anniversary

LD2810211990 Prague CTK in English 1858 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Prague/Bratislava Oct 28 (CTK)—Meetings were held throughout Czechoslovakia today to mark the 72nd anniversary of the founding of the state.

Participants in a meeting called by the Czecho-Slovak Understanding Movement in Bratislava sent a protest against media coverage which presented the Slovak nation as a shouting crowd and ignored the voice of the majority which "wants to take its respectable place in Europe."

Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told a meeting in Olomouc, North Moravia, that no one is threatening the Czechoslovak state from outside now; on the contrary, it has support. Coexistence of the Czech and Slovak nations is the only option after the November 1989 revolution.

In the South Moravian capital of Brno, Finance Minister and Civic Forum [OF] Chairman Vaclav Klaus told the crowds that when Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar had asked him if he really thought that people in Bohemia and Moravia wanted a common Czechoslovakia he answered a categorical "yes."

In Prague, Slovak representatives said at a meeting called by the two largest public movements, Czech OF and Slovak Public Against Violence [VPN], that the efforts of the less than ten per cent Slovaks who want separation were being generalized. Dagmar Buresova, Czech Parliament chairwoman said: We were more concerned about our democratic rights and did not realize that the Slovaks perceived also other problems, namely the problems, namely the problem of Slovak statehood.

Slavkov Summit Discusses Constitutional Formation

Leaders Attend Political Meeting

LD2810144890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel, federal Premier Marian Calfa, and Czech and Slovak Premiers Petr Pithart and Vladimir Meciar have convened today at Slavkov Castle near Brno [South Moravia] on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of the founding of the independent Czechoslovak state.

Also taking part in the meeting are representatives of the three main coalition parties: Civic Forum [OF], Public Against Violence [VPN], and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH].

Havel Comments on Declaration

LD2810164590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] A summit meeting was held in the Slavkov chateau near Brno today to discuss the constitutional formation of Czechoslovakia. After the meeting, President Vaclav Havel assessed the participants and meetings:

[Begin Havel recording] At my invitation, here in Slavkov, we assembled in a kind of unusual group, in fact for the first time. This group includes premiers—all three of them: the Federal, the Czech, and the Slovak—with their entourages, and chairmen of coalition political forces which are represented in the Federal Government: Public Against Violence [VPN], Civic Forum [OF], and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH].

The meeting started at 0830 and ended at 1330. In my opinion it was extremely important. We discussed a wide spectrum of issues, from various topical political issues to some fundamental things such as the timetable of work on our three new constitutions—such as the preparation of that constitutional charter, the charter of human freedoms and rights and duties. I think that the meeting culminated in...[changes thought] It has to be said that the meeting had a very constructive, friendly character.

Naturally, we also discussed the question of division of powers, which is very topical at present, and I think that the meeting culminated in a kind of act of truly historic importance: We drafted a joint declaration which in a way is connected with today's date—28 October—and in which these political forces which have won the elections, together with statesmen, confirm quite clearly their combined will to live in one federative state. It seems to me that today, in the somewhat stirred-up atmosphere, when we are looking for a new face of our federation, and namely today, when we commemorate the anniversary of the birth of our modern state, it was very important that we jointly declared this in this way. [end recording]

Premiers Reaffirm Coexistence

LD2810182190 Prague CTK in English 1546 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Slavkov, South Moravia, Oct 28 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel, the Federal, Czech and Slovak premiers and the leaders of the three political movements signed today a declaration reaffirming their commitment to the historical principles of the coexistence of the Czech and Slovak nations in one state.

The declaration was signed at a meeting of these representatives today, the 72nd anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak state in 1918.

Presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky said that the declaration formulates the reasons why the two nations

want to live in one state and the principles of this coexistence. Zantovsky said that the purpose of the meeting was not to discuss the division of powers between the federal authorities and the Czech and Slovak Governments, a major issue in the country in the last three months, but rather to confirm the affinity and the identity of the two nations, although power sharing was mentioned by several speakers. The discusion was very friendly and very constuctive and was aimed at finding a common stand with regard to the important anniversary and the future of the federation, the spokesman said.

The meeting was held at Slavkov near Brno, halfway between the capitals of the two constituent republics, Prague and Bratislava. The document was signed by President Havel, federal Premier Marian Calfa, Czech and Slovak Premiers Petr Pithart and Miroslav Meciar respectively, Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky and Chairmen Vaclav Klaus of the Czech Civic Forum [OF] movement, Fedor Gal of the Slovak Public Against Violence [VPN] and Jan Carnogursky of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], members of the ruling coalition.

Calls for separation have been made by some groups in the Slovak Republic, the smaller of the two republics forming Czechoslovakia, in the last few weeks.

Meciar, Pithart View Talks

LD2810201790 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Slavkov Oct 28 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said that in his opinion the majority of Slovak citizens would be satisfied with the results of the talks between Czechoslovak leaders at Slavkov near Brno today.

"Those who are for an independent Slovak state will not be satisfied," he said. However, "everyone should realize that Europe wants us to be together. No one is interested in two separate states." He voiced the belief that in Slovakia the majority wants a federation with the Czechs in which powers would be divided in favour of the constituent republics.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart, who described the talks as a working session, said that "one of two issues" still remained to be resolved in the division of powers, namely the tax system and railways. The federal, Czech and Slovak premiers will meet once more on Friday and make the last attempt to solve what has not been solved. He said that agreement was reached that what would not be finalized by the end of next week would be shelved until several months later. There is no reason for conflict.

Summit Adopts Joint Declaration

LD2810202990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] At the close of the Slavkov meeting, the participants adopted a declaration. Among other things, it points out that after more than 50 years we once again have the chance to build a free, democratic, and egalitarian home for Czechs and Slovaks and all nationalities living on state territory. We live together not only because the world sees us as a single state, but above all because each one of our nations has reason enough for feeling weaker on its own.

The participants of the Slavkov meeting confirmed in the declaration the firm will to preserve and further develop the federative set up of the joint state of Czechs and Slovaks. They expressed the determination to energetically counter all attempts to violate the integrity and sovereignty of the state. They are in favor of the fastest possible adoption of a new constitution which will reflect not only the new shape of the federation of sovereign nations, but also guarantee equal rights and duties for all citizens of our state, regardless of their nationality, race, religion, or political conviction.

The declaration appeals to all citizens not to allow themselves to be hoodwinked by demagogues and political adventurers who would like to change the character of the present struggle for a democratic, prosperous society open to everybody.

Pithart, Meciar on Calfa Talks

LD2910113190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] President Vaclav Havel met with the federal, Czech, and Slovak premiers, Marian Calfa, Petr Pithart, and Vladimir Meciar, at Slavkov, near Brno, today on the occasion of the declaration of Czechoslovak independence. [passage omitted]

After the meeting ended journalists asked Czech Premier Petr Pithart to give his views on the talks in Slavkov:

[Begin Pithart recording] We all have agreed that we are leaving with the good feeling of having made some progress. Problems remain nevertheless, and the basic problems lie, I would say, in the fact that political time in the Czech Republic is ticking away somewhat differently than in Slovakia and we have to take this into account. For instance, there is the issue of coordinating work on the Constitution. In Slovakia, naturally, the need for rapid preparation of the Constitution is being felt more intensively than in the Czech Republic and within the framework of the federation. We had to find a solution that would take the situation in Slovakia into account while at the same time not proceeding precipitously and not drafting a constitution which would have to be to amended immediately afterwards.

Everything will, however, have to be agreed by the end of the coming week. We have decided to postpone what will not be agreed, and therefore we shall not discuss it in the weeks and months ahead. We shall simply observe certain moratorium and shall return to the matter in six months' time.

There is no reason for any conflicts. It will simply be delayed for a period on which we shall agree and we shall not return to it now, otherwise it would go on endlessly. [end recording]

[Announcer] Now it is Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's turn:

[Begin Meciar recording in Slovak] The creation of Slovak statehood is currently the subject of an intensive political struggle. This is not because of the statehood as such and the benefits for the people, but because it is one of the fundamental problems on which one can dictate popularity. If the Slovak Republic can exercise power which it needs in its own interest on all questions that are connected with economic life and state administration, then its citizens will hardly give up a possible common market, possible contacts, education, exchange of cultural values, common defense interests, and common foreign policy. Here, everyone must realize that Europe wants us together and that no one is interested in two separate states.

The question was raised during the talks as to whether or not we should have a refereadum on the matter. Let me say that in Slovakia the majority is in favor of a federation in which powers would be divided in favor of the constituent republics. A referendum would therefore not be necessary at present. People can, however, express their viewpoints. Works collectives, social organizations, and political movements can adopt a stand on the declaration we have adopted today and say whether they have a positive or negative attitude to it. This, too, is a kind of a referendum. The governments and parliaments would welcome and learn from such standpoints. This would tell us if, in the period ahead, we should concern ourselves with the issue of the referendum on whether or not we should have a common state, or if we should concentrate on the issue of saying yes to the common state and on how to do so.

We have again made a step forward. More will have to be done to accomplish Our task, however. [end recording]

Federal Parliament 23 Oct Proceedings Reported

AU2810165390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

["ha, jop"-signed report: "The Break Is Drawing to a Close; Debate on the Small Privatization Bill Adjourned Until Today"]

[Text] As the headline suggests, the program of proceedings of our supreme legislative body is deficient in its order. The absence of rules of procedure, a bill on which will be discussed by the deputies this week, is not the only reason for this deficiency.

Yesterday's joint meeting of the two chambers was interrupted less than two hours after it opened. In these two hours the plenum only managed to withdraw from the agenda items number four and five: the government-sponsored bills on state technical norms and metrology. On the other hand, a completely new item was put on the agenda of the session, at the recommendation of Deputy Pavol Bratinka—a debate and the adoption of a statement on the period of 1948 to 1989.

The Tuesday [23 October] session of the parliament started with a brief, separate meeting of the Chamber of Nations, with the oath-taking of new deputies, and their election to parliamentary committees. An argument about the proceedings of the chambers' joint meeting followed, particularly about whether to discuss the bills on state technical norms and metrology. It was only during the vote on the agenda that the discrepancy between the positions of the economic and constitutional and legal affairs committees became fully apparent. While the economic committees disapprove of these two bills being discussed and passed, the constitutional and legal affairs committees consider the submitted legislation (apart from minor suggestions for alterations) to be adequate. A number of objections were leveled at the constitutional and legal affairs committees, which were rejected by Deputy Jan Sokol. He stressed that the critics' triumphant clamor is out of place because the constitutional and legal affairs committees were the only ones to have approached the debate in a responsible way. Deputy Jozef Wagner observed: "We have rejected two bills which had no political implications," which is why it was done with a light heart. He proposed that a new item be included in the vacant place on the agenda, in response to the chaotic start of the seventh joint meeting—the technique of the Federal Assembly's work.

Milan Sutovec, chairman of the Chamber of Nations who chaired the joint meeting, acquainted the deputies with a letter from Vaclav Havel, in which the president of the Republic asked the Federal Assembly Presidium for its consent on the decision to send a special antichemical warfare unit to Saudi Arabia. As the letter has not been discussed by all interested parliamentary committees, a debate on it followed. Deputy Stanislav Panis, for example, warned against decisions on matters of such importance being made by the president for the whole Republic. Deputy Richard Sacher, too, warned against the momentous nature of the intended step. He stressed the fact that our state is not sufficiently protected against acts of individual terrorism by Iraq, which could be triggered by this decision. Deputy Milos Zeman, who took the floor immediately after R. Sacher, said that we scarcely have had the chance to finally prove at least by a symbolic act that we belong to the world community before jittery voices are already making themselves heard. The result of the debate was a Federal

Assembly resolution supporting the decision of the CSFR president to send a military unit of 179 volunteers to Saudi Arabia.

The first day of the seventh joint meeting of both Federal Assembly chambers ended with the passing of an amendment to Law No. 131 of 1989 on the Legal Gazette. [A MLADA FRONTA DNES report on the parliament session clarifies that, under this amendment, all laws come into force only after their publication in the Legal Gazette]. The seventh joint meeting continues today with deputies' interpellations and a debate on the so-called small privatization bill, which is scheduled for the afternoon.

The agenda of today's session is thus more or less clear. Nonetheless, question marks continue to hover over the Federal Assembly's work. The deputies are drowning in a multitude of legislative norms, the quality of the preparation of which greatly varies. A case in point is the recently passed property restitution law. Only after its adoption was a mistake of such seriousness discovered in it that it will to be amended again. As passed, the law poses a threat to the operation of foreign missions housed in buildings which, under the property restitution law, ought to be returned to their original owners. In these cases it will apparently be necessary [for the owners of these buildings] to settle for financial compensation. The same reason, the poor quality of preparation, also caused the adjournment of the debate on the small privatization bill. Yesterday in the afternoon the constitutional and legal affairs committees had to deal with this bill again. The plenum had to solve a periodically recurring question: Should the debate continue even with the almost 40 members of the constitutional and legal affairs committees absent? In the end these deputies rightly enforced the adjournment of the meeting.

Government Session Discusses Custom Regulations

AU2810161990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Zdenek Hoffmann report: "Measures Against Smugglers; From a News Conference on the CSFR Government Session"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—The significant expansion of contacts with foreign countries calls for bringing our legal order closer to the customs regulations of EC countries and, at the same time, for protecting the interests of the republic against the growth of smuggling.

These are the two main motives of the draft amendment to the customs act, which was discussed by the CSFR Government at its session on Monday [22 October].

Approximately 2,000 new subjects have become involved in foreign trade activities and tourist traffic has also expanded. According to customs officers' data, smuggled goods account for about 20 percent of the total volume of goods crossing our borders. This involves not only illegal transfers of electric appliances for one's own needs but, very often, organized smuggling on a large scale, including the establishment of places of transshipment for the further distribution of the smuggled goods. There is also the danger of growth in the trafficking of narcotics.

For all these reasons, the protected customs zone will be expanded to 15 km from the border and customs guards [celni straz] will be set up. This organization is expected to have about 6,000 members who will be recruited from the ranks of the Border Guards, from among the passport control and customs officers, or newly hired. To speed up customs clearance at the border, so-called "green zones" will be established for those who have nothing to declare. Should customs officers detect the concealment of non-duty-free goods, however, the fines will be substantially higher, Jiri Brabec, CSFR deputy minister of foreign trade, said at the news conference [when explaining the amendment to the customs act].

Zbynek Fiala, spokesman for the Federal Government, reported that the government also discussed a one-time increase in the compensatory payment to families of miners who died in the coal mine accident at Barbara Mine on 18 October; the method of settlement for the property of the former National Front; as well as property claims arising from the entry, stay, and departure of Soviet troops. The government has not, unfortunately, finished the discussion on some important bills pertaining to the economic reform—especially the bill on agricultural land and the bill on bonds. In order to come into effect on 1 January 1991, these bills must pass through the government by 25 October.

Mohorita Addresses Communist Party Session

LD2810040290 Prague CTK in English 1831 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 27 (CTK)—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia ended today its last session before a new structure of the party, which had a monopoly of power in the country for 41 years, is expected to be approved at its congress on November 3-4.

It plans to found the party Federal Council as its strategy-planning centre which would replace the Central Committee. A change of the party's name is also to be debated at the congress.

First Secretary Vasil Mohorita told the session today that 51,000 communists will run on the party lists in the local elections in Czechoslovakia on November 23-24 and thousands of others in coalitions with other parties. "The Civic Forum [OF] and communists appear most often on the lists of candidates for municipalities in the Czech Republic," he told representatives of the party whose membership has dropped from 1.7 million to some 700,000 since the democratic changes began in Czechoslovakia in November 1989.

Mohorita, who had a post on the ruling Politburo before the party lost power at the end of last year, protested against "things taking place and being prepared in this society with which we cannot agree." He criticized the blueprint for economic reform which "arouses our justified concern, on behalf of our members, the working people, for their certainties."

He protested against a draft bill on the expropriation of the party's property which is to be debated by parliamentary committees from mid-November. He described it as "undemocratic because what has been provably obtained for money from party members and sympathizers is also to be expropriated."

Vacek's Dismissal Seen as Overture to Calfa's Fall

AU2810143090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Oct 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "A Civilian With the Determination of a General"]

[Text] The change in the post of the minister of defense is viewed by political observers of the situation in Czechoslovakia through different prisms. For some, the departure of General Miroslav Vacek—supported by President Vaclav Havel to the last moment—is further proof that the Castle [the seat of the president] is on the defensive and the pace of change is dictated by the right-wing circles in Civic Forum [OF]. Others hold a different point of view in their assessment of the appointment of Lubos Dobrovsky as the first civilian in more than a half-century of the Czechoslovak state; according to them, in taking this step, the president eliminated reservations by some of his critics, and as a replacement for a compromised general, he chose a man from among the ranks of the former dissident opposition.

For the president, as the commander in chief of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces, it is very important who holds the post of the minister of defense in the Federal Government. It is expected that Lubos Dobrovsky will conduct a radical reform in the Czechoslovak Army and that he will thoroughly complete the process of personnel changes in its command. The qualifications of the new minister in foreign politics are of particular importance as the military function of the Warsaw Pact changes and it becomes a political association. The fact that the Warsaw Pact as a military alliance will soon cease to exist is just as important in this context.

The first orders by the new minister indicate that he will perform just as energetically as his predecessor in the general's uniform. The measures taken against the Free Legion—which incited the campaign to recall General Vacek—prove that even a civilian will not permit insubordination in the Army and breakdown of discipline. On the other hand, the remaining so-called old structures in the Army cannot expect that they will keep their position and influence in the Army command.

In connection with the recall of General Vacek, it is emphasized that the premier has been the second target in the Federal Government. His position was weakened recently by the election of Vaclav Klaus as the chairman of OF. The general's resignation also forms a precedent for the Marian Calfa case because of the curious situation that transpired: namely, the person in the cabinet who is politically strongest is the minister of finance, despite the fact that in the hierarchy of the Federal Government members, the premier has the highest constitutional authority. A change in this post would not come as a surprise because Mr. Calfa has not managed to convince Slovaks that he understands the proper order of the two fundamental priorities: The federative arrangement of the relationship of Czechs and Slovaks based on the primary sovereignty of the national republics, and the economic reform utilizing this order.

Formation of 'Democratic Left' Party Mooted

LD2910163890 Prague CTK in English 1224 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 29 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and the Obroda (Revival) Club consider it necessary to finish up their cooperation so far by gradual integration, leaders of the two formations have stated.

In a statement, given to CTK by Jiri Horak of the Social Democratic Party and Milos Hajek of the Obroda, consisting of 1968 Prague Spring reform communists, said that in a situation when right parties and movements increasingly dominate the political scene in Czechoslovakia, they consider necessary the integration of the two formations, which would help develop the policy of a democratic left party. [sentence as received]

Citizens Voice Attitude on Political Institutions

AU2810141790 Prague CTK in English 1843 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CTK)—73 percent of Czechoslovak citizens, 81 percent of Czech and 57 percent of Slovak citizens voiced confidence in President Vaclav Havel according to a public opinion poll carried out by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. 716 respondents took part.

A total of 71 percent of Czechoslovak respondents, 71 percent of Czech and 69 percent of Slovak respondents trust the national governments. The Federal Government is supported by 64 percent of Czechoslovak, 70 percent of Czech and 52 percent of Slovak citizens. 64 percent of Czech citizens trust the Czech National Council and 60 percent of Slovaks the Slovak National Council. The Federal Assembly has the support of 49 percent of Czechoslovaks, 52 percent of Czechs and 44 percent of Slovaks.

According to a research carried out in September 53 percent of 696 respondents supported the federal set-up.

Only 44 percent out of 716 respondents voiced their support for the federation in October.

Support for Independent Broadcasting Grows

LD2910122490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The request by advocates of Radio Stalin to permit independent broadcasting in Czechoslovakia is gathering considerable support. Yesterday, CTK received a list of signatures in which Federal Assembly and Czech National Council deputies, Presidential Adviser Sasa Vondra, Charter 77 signatories, many journalists, artists, civic movements, and cultural organizations expressed support for the granting of frequencies to private radio stations.

Military Counterintelligence Service Dissolved

LD2910215690 Prague CTK in English 1654 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky has suspended the activity of the former Military Counter-Intelligence Service as of October 26, it was announced today.

Members of the service are to be vetted in the same way as the staff of the State Security Force has been recently. The Counter-Intelligence Service was subordinated simultaneously to the Defence Ministry and the Interior Ministry's State Security section.

The Czechoslovak Army assumes that members of the former counter- intelligence who will pass the vetting and have the required professional qualifications will be employed for corresponding jobs.

New Foreign Intelligence Service Planned

AU2910193890 Prague CTK in English 0917 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CTK)—The abolition of Czechoslovakia's foreign intelligence service by Interior Minister Jan Langos on October 18 has aroused mixed reactions but it means the birth of a Czechoslovak intelligence service based on entirely new principles, the daily ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY wrote today.

It said that extensive discussions had taken place in the last few months on whether the state should have an intelligence service or not and the view prevailed that it needs its own intelligence service. It is hard to imagine for instance economic negotiations without knowing the maximum and minimum demands of the partner but these are never revealed officially, the paper said.

This and other facts clearly show that the surprise decision of Minister Langos to stop intelligence operations does not mean the end of the Czechoslovak intelligence service. The announcement that 600 members of the intelligence center have been moved to reserves for three months and after this period will be dismissed from the Interior Ministry is only a sign that quite a new Czechoslovak intelligence service, rid of the communist heritage and people compromised by it, is being formed, the daily wrote.

Text of Slovak Language Law Passed 25 Oct

AU3010112690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Oct 90 p 2

["Law of the Slovak National Council of 25 October 1990 on the Official Language in the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] The Slovak National Council passed the following law:

Article 1 Introductory Provisions

(1) The purpose of this law is to enact in the Slovak Republic an official language as an instrument of mutual understanding and communication on its state territory and thereby secure the requisite conditions for the smooth and efficient execution of state power and administration, self-administration, and comprehensive social development.

(2) The enactment of the official language law must contribute to the development of democracy and culture of the Slovak nation and the ethnic minorities in the Slovak Republic in the spirit of understanding and reinforcement of national tolerance, humanity, and international commitments in the sphere of human rights.

Article 2 Official Language

The Slovak language is the official language on the state territory of the Slovak Republic.

Article 3 Use of the Official Language

(1) State bodies and community self-administration bodies and their staff are obligated to use the official language in their operations.

(2) Public documents are issued in the official language.

(3) State bodies and community self-administration bodies must create conditions to enable their staffs to use the official language in verbal, written, or other forms recognized by the state.

(4) The names of villages, towns and their parts, streets, squares, public areas, and other geographical names are denoted in the official language.

Article 4 Instruction of the Official Language

The state is obligated to create conditions in the educational system to enable citizens of the Slovak Republic to master the Slovak language to a degree necessary for its use in official and everyday contacts.

Article 5 Care of the Official Language

The state attends to the scientific research of the official language and to the enhancement of its cultivated use and purity.

Article 6 The Use of Other Languages

(1) Citizens may also use the Czech language in dealings with authorities.

(2) If members of an ethnic minority represent at least 20 percent of the population of a town or village, they can use their own language in dealings with authorities in such towns and villages. If a citizen who is not member of an ethnic minority comes into contact with authorities in such towns or villages, the proceedings are conducted in the official language. Employees of state bodies and self-administration bodies are not obligated to command and use the ethnic minority's language. Public documents are issued and official records are kept in the official language.

(3) State bodies and community self-administration bodies consider the possibility, expediency, and method of the use of the language in dealings with the authorities according to sections (1) and (2), while taking into consideration Articles 1 and 4 of this law.

Article 7

Decisions on disputes over the use of the official language are made by the relevant state administration bodies (district authorities) within the framework of administrative proceedings. Their decisions are reviewed by courts.

Article 8

This law comes into force on the day of its promulgation.
chairman of the Slovak National Council
premier of the Slovak Republic

Slovak Social Democrats Set Political Goals

LD2710205190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The first Slovak Social Democratic Party Congress has begun in Bratislava. Its aim is to adopt statutes, a political strategy for the period up to the new elections, and to delineate its relationship with the trade union movement.

The document which sets out the fundamental points of the party's departure states that among other things the Social Democratic Party rejects the policy of class struggle and dictatorship of any kind. It is for freedom, democracy, social justice, solidarity, peace, and protection of the environment. It insists on the preservation of unity in Czechoslovakia and the inviolability of the state borders. In the area of the economy, the party wants to create a mechanism to secure the social certainties of the workers.

Slovak Government Holds Session 27 Oct

Meciar Discusses Situation

LD2810093490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Interview with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Bohus Goetzi in Bratislava on 27 October—Meciar's statements recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Slovak Government is in session in Bratislava today. It opened its proceedings by discussing measures to deal with the current tense situation in Slovakia. After this first agenda item had been discussed, Premier Vladimir Meciar held a regular press briefing. Our correspondent Bohus Goetzi asked him questions.

[Goetzi] The first question asked by a colleague from television was about the government's measures to deal with the current situation in Slovakia.

[Meciar] We cannot say the whole territory of Slovakia because most of the territory is calm, people are going about their normal lives and work, and they are following what is happening in Bratislava with concern. The very fact that Bratislava has become the focus for certain extremist forces, and that they are seeking to win support at all costs in the city itself and throughout Slovak territory has led us to adopt measures aimed at preventing the destabilization of the situation and, in essence, the collapse of the administration of the state, in other words, making it impossible for the Slovak National Council and government to function. These measures have been thought out in a relatively systemic way.

The government has empowered the government Presidium to be in permanent session and to take charge of all executive functions, with the republicn prosecutor-general and the minister of justice in permanent attendance at the Presidium's proceedings. In addition, the government has given instructions for other organizational measures under which formations will be brought into action to ensure order and security in the city, so that the situation does not recur whereby certain citizens who wished to voice a different view were attacked. The government must also ensure order by stipulating that protests can only take place at a distance of 100 meters from public buildings, so that the agencies and institutions can function without [illegible]uption.

We have received several indications that there are certain groups whose activities go beyond the political limit. They are acting in a political manner by issuing demands, threatening terror, and so forth.

Naturally we must activate the security forces to ascertain whether or not this is true, and then to act according to the situation. In addition, we intend to discuss the situation which has arisen with representatives of all the mass media. We do not to dictate to you what you should say, that is your business, a matter for your conscience,

but, since we have already heard shouting in the town squares about what everyone else wants so many times, we also want the government's voice to be heard, and the voice of the parties and movements. We have also agreed to hold consultations shortly with all the representatives of the political parties and movements in Slovakia to set out our position, so that we put an end to disinformation, because disinformation is the root of the matter. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education has been asked to instruct and explain to students in higher education and secondary schools the basis of the legal dispute, the ulterior political game which is, in essence, a gamble for power, but power of a rather different hue in some cases.

Having discussed these matters, we also had to ask another question, which is why were there so many secondary school students among the ranks of the demonstrators during school hours? The minister was asked to investigate these matters, what schools they were from, and whether or not the teachers sent them to demonstrate. Parents have entrusted their children to the charge of the teachers to prepare them for their studies and to look after their health and safety, not to provoke them and allow them to get involved in politically unforeseeable situations in street demonstrations during school hours. [passage indistinct]

We went on to discuss matters associated with suspicions of criminal activity on the part of certain people. We agreed that we will not put the emphasis on repression and punishment, not because we are weak, but because we will seek to resolve these matters by consultation, in a political manner, and not by having immediate recourse to the options available in the Penal Code or by initiating legal proceedings.

Talks will be held between the government and the trade unions on strike threats. However, we will have to hold discussions not only in the central agencies, but with the workers on the shop floor, and ministers have the duty of travelling wherever necessary to explain the significance and the political nature of a strike, its aims, because there are people who say that they are in favor of the [Slovak language] law proposed by Matica Slovenska, yet they do not even know what the law proposes. Yet they are ready to go on strike, because they know what they want it to say, but they do not actually know what it says.

During the night I met with representatives of Matica Slovenska at (Jankov Vrsok). We did not end our talks until after midnight. It was a very useful meeting, during which we noted that Matica's name was being abused. No Matica body has given its consent to having its name abused in these political acts, nor agrees with this campaign, and dissociates itself from it. Also, when leading officials of this organization wanted to come to Bratislava for consultations, to which the Slovak National Party had invited certain Matica representatives, those leading officials were prevented from taking part; they were locked out, they were not allowed in to the proceedings. For us, Matica is a sacred institution, we must separate it from what is happening, because it truly has nothing to do with the way in which people's national sentiments are being abused.

I think that if anyone wants to support the adventures taking place here, then they must decide what they want, who they want to support. I did not discern any policy. What I heard was hate, a longing for help, future unrest. What I did not see much of is common sense. I do not want to insult those people, but when I look at the demands they are shouting, it is typical. People must decide if they want to help and support our wing, or whether they want [Slovak National Party Chairman Vitazoslav] Moric in some leading post in Slovakia, or whether they will just let him continue as a private individual. The Federal Assembly will also have to decide whether or not his behavior in the Slovak National Council building exceeded the obligations which a deputy of this federal body undertakes.

What is taking place here is not only a struggle for the shape of the Czechoslovak states, but for the shape of political and democratic development in Slovakia, the shape of our relations with the outside world. This is extremely important, because this week a delegation is coming to make key decisions about economic assistance to Slovakia—there are billions at stake here, and if we throw all this away just in order to maintain popularity, then what are we worth? [passage omitted]

[Goetzi] If you allow me, Mr. Premier, to return to the start of this week, I would like to ask you about the progress in the dispute, if we could describe it as such, between Interior Minister Andras and yourself. What stage has this matter reached at present?

[Meciar] Political parties have been told what was at issue. You know the attitude of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. A reaction to that attitude was the mass support from citizens which I received, and for which I am very grateful. To be truthful, when the issue arose I did not know what would happen. Indeed, it might have ended in failure. But the matter was reflected in the work of the government, and this is why I had to tackle it. With regard to the solution, the coalition parties have agreed not to take stands for the time being but to wait for our meeting next Monday, when business-like discussions will take place. The situation should be resolved finally at the end of next week. My stand still applies.

Adopts Destabilization Measures

LD2810221590 Prague CTK in English 1556 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 28 (CTK)—The Slovak Government approved steps at its session last night to stabilize the situation in the Slovak Republic where protests were held after Thursday's approval of legislation enacting Slovak as the state language and giving the right to ethnic minorities to use their languages in official business.

It will organize constructive dialogue between political forces, with trade unions and students, work to prevent misinformation and reinforce the police. It will ask the Federal Government for approval to transfer another 265 members of the border guards to help the police force in the Slovak Republic between the beginning of November 1990 and the end of March 1991. This would raise the number of border guards assisting police to 1,800.

An enlarged government presidium will deal with all issues between government sessions.

The cabinet approved a bill on the administrative areas of Slovakia. The basic units will be communities which will be independent legal entities. The territory will be administratively divided into districts but these will not have legal authority.

Approves Other Bills, Proposals

LD2810145990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Meeting yesterday in Bratislava, the Slovak Government adopted a package of measures aimed at preventing the destabilization of the situation in Slovakia. This includes organizing constructive dialogues between the political forces, trade unions, and students, and measures to prevent disinformation and to strengthen the law-enforcement agencies. Emerging problems will be tackled on a day-to-day basis by an enlarged presidium of the Slovak Government.

The government then approved a Slovak National Council-sponsored bill on the territorial division of the Slovak Republic, and a bill granting town status to more than 130 villages. It also passed a bill transferring the founding and promotional powers of the national committees to the central state administration agencies and local government agencies and municipalities.

The Slovak Government also agreed to a proposal to standardize the rates of turnover tax on industrial and food products, and to a proposal to increase the retail price of fuel and heat energy. The aim of the adjustment to retail fuel and heat energy prices from 1 December is to eliminate the existing negative tax on turnover and to encourage consumers to economize. Compensation allowances will be paid for pensioners and children. Both these proposals have yet to be ratified by the Federal Government.

VPN, KDH Members Comment on Slovak Crisis

AU2910184090 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 24 (CTK)—Public Against Violence (VPN) Slovak Council Chairman Fedor Gal said today he hoped that the recent competence dispute between Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Interior Minister Anton Andras would be settled by a dialogue.

Meciar called for Andras' resignation on Sunday on grounds of his incompetence as interior minister.

While briefing newsmen, he said he considers the existence of the government coalition of the VPN, the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), and the Democratic Party a necessity.

Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament) and KDH Council member Ivan Carnogursky stated in this connection that there was no crisis in the government coalition. KDH does not attempt to incite disputes in the coalition, he added.

VPN representatives acquainted journalists with the results of a public opinion poll on the issue of Slovak-Hungarian relations conducted in Slovakia in October. It showed that although this problem exists, some Slovak politicians exaggerate it. Slovaks living in purely Slovak regions had most critical evaluations of the relations whilst Slovaks living in mixed regions had more positive assessments. As to the popularity of Slovak politicians, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar is the number one.

Calfa To Visit USSR for Oil Talks 30 Oct

LD2910131590 Prague CTK in English 0943 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa will visit the Soviet Union on October 30 to discuss economic issues with his Soviet colleague Nikolay Ryzhkov. The meeting has been requested by Czechoslovakia since the very beginning of the oil crisis.

The situation came to a head at the beginning of October when Soviet oil supplies to Czechoslovakia fell to a minimum (the running of Czechoslovak enterprises requires 40,000 tonnes daily). Production in several Czechoslovak chemical plants had to be suspended and oil and petrol prices for consumers increased.

In view of a significant breach of contracts and promises by the Soviet partners and negative consequences for Czechoslovak economy President Vaclav Havel asked Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for assuming a stand on this situation and making a proposition. On October 4, Marian Calfa requested, through the Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin, a meeting at the highest level to resolve the accumulating problems.

On October 9 spokesman for the Soviet president Vitaliy Ignatienko said at a press conference that the statement of President Havel on Czechoslovak measures if Soviet oil deliveries are not met "is being discussed." (Vaclav Havel said that in case of a clear breach of contracts Czechoslovakia will not feel excessively conscientious as regards its obligations towards the Soviet Union). The Soviet side insisted that the drop in oil deliveries to Czechoslovakia is a consequence of objective reasons—a decrease of Soviet oil output and the Persian Gulf crisis. This year the Soviet Union was supposed to deliver 16.6

million tonnes of oil but according to preliminary estimates the deliveries will be only 13 million tonnes. Therefore Czechoslovakia has started to buy Soviet Oil for convertible currency (300,000 tonnes) and further 500,000 tonnes were gained directly from producers in the Tyumen region for Czechoslovak goods.

Future trade with the Soviet Union will be carried out in convertible currency from January 1, 1991 and will be oriented not only to the governmental but also to the republic and enterprise levels. Czechoslovakia is aware that in spite of its search for new oil resources it will continue to be heavily dependent on Soviet oil supplies in the forthcoming three years.

Apart from the visit to the Soviet Union of Czech Minister of Engineering and Electrical Engineering Miroslav Gregr, a two-day seminar on future bilateral relations was a significant impulse for the Czechoslovak-Soviet contacts. The Czechoslovak delegation to the seminar, which was held in Moscow, was led by First Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Harencar and the Soviet by Deputy Foreign Minister Ernest Obminskiy. The seminar made it possible to clarify a number of disputable issues and extend the exchange of views and positions. The participants were received also by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The Czechoslovak premier's visit to Moscow does therefore have something to build on.

Calfa Interviewed on Soviet Oil Supplies

AU2810143190 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 22 Oct 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa, by VEREJNOST correspondent Vlado Turkovic on 19 October; place not given: "Oil, Oil, Oil"]

[Text] Cursed, needed, in short supply, irreplaceable, and costly: crude oil. We had the opportunity to talk with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa on the erratic supplies of Soviet crude oil and on the prospects of oil supplies in the nearest future.

[Turkovic] Mr. Premier, two weeks ago, in connection with the oil crisis, the Czechoslovak side expressed the need for a summit meeting with the leading Soviet representatives. A mention even appeared in the press that you will go to Moscow....

[Calfa] That was a disinformation. As regards the date, the Soviet representatives have not responded officially. They only commented that the issue is being investigated. The Soviet ambassador informed us to this effect very diplomatically....

[Turkovic] Very diplomatically?

[Calfa] Of course. Then again, we have information from our ambassador to the USSR that the Soviet Government will deal with the oil supplies to the former socialist countries globally. They set the date for today (Friday) or the beginning of next week. The Soviets claim that there is no point to a meeting of two parties when a global decision is to follow. As regards the fate of the earlier mentioned meeting, two possibilities exist: The issue can be settled by the premiers; if not, the alternative comes to force that the heads of both countries will meet at the latest during the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Committee in Bratislava on the weekend of 3 to 4 November.

[Turkovic] What are the current oil deliveries like?

[Calfa] They improved in October, or rather from the time we declared oil supplies to be a priority problem. They vary between 30 and 50 thousand tonnes daily. This trend implies that by the end of October, the Soviets would supply us with about one-third of the amount in question, i.e., approximately one million tonnes. That, however, is only an assumption. It will become reality only on 31 October and it will be calculated retrospectively. We have no idea how the situation will develop in November and December. Nevertheless, the current conduct of the Soviet side indicates that the deliveries will be realized according to the contract.

[Turkovic] At the time of the rapid reduction of the oil deliveries, you did not intend to go to Moscow like beggars but you had an equally valid proposal....

[Calfa] I believe that the Soviet side needs particularly the Czechoslovak engineering products. The Soviet side is definitely exceptionally interested in them on the enterprise level. There is a problem, however, that the USSR considers oil globally and decides on it as an independent item disregarding the countertrade. It is interested, I would say, only in hard currency. In any case, this problem will be solved as of 1 January 1991 when the payments in hard currency will become a fact of life.

[Turkovic] Winter is approaching. People are justified in their concerns regarding the sufficient heating of their quarters. After all, there might be unstable supplies of Soviet natural gas?

[Calfa] So far, we have no indication that the Soviets would behave like they did in the case of oil. As regards gas, the situation is much more stabile. We have our gas containers filled to the maximum capacity and therefore we can take some abuse. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the warmth will last through the winter. However, just the same, I cannot say that there will not be heating.

Economic Adviser on Relations With USSR

LD2810092690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Political scientists, economists, and other experts have discussed future relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union at a seminar in Moscow. Jaroslav

Skalicky asked Richard Wagner, the president's economic adviser, for an interview following the return of our delegation to Prague.

[Begin recording] [Skalicky] The range of the seminar was very broad, but I expect that particular attention was given to the economy?

[Wagner] Yes, attention was given to the economy, but I would emphasize another thing—that it was the first symposium, the first meeting under the truly new conditions. Because in fact we were meeting for the first time, we began to speak openly rather than formally and I think this is the most valuable thing.

[Skalicky] It is expected that world prices will be introduced from 1 January in mutual trade. Do you think that both sides are ready for this already?

[Wagner] I do not think so. We are more prepared for this than the Soviet side. There is an interesting change in their views. The fact is that they were the ones, it was their Premier Ryzhkov, who first began to speak about the necessity for the transition to world prices and the settling of accounts in convertible currency. We accepted this even though we knew that this would produce certain problems. It is now becoming apparent, however, that in the Soviet Union the situation is changing. It is far from simple. The economic process of reform has slowed down, it has come up against a very complicated political situation, and it was our Soviet partners who came up with the idea that it would be possible to in fact keep clearing. This means that we would trade together using world prices—that is fine—and, I expect, using world currencies. Here we have the problem of the rates of exchange relations. And at the end of the year we would have a certain surplus which could then be settled in ordinary convertible currency. I must say that we are not at all against the concept of clearing.

[Skalicky] So it is up to us, to be able to (?create) the conditions?

[Wagner] Well, it is up to us to bring things to a level of economic effectiveness. You know, everything must have an economic effect. We must stop using the two extremes. The first extreme, in the past totalitarian regime, was the extreme of servility. The second extreme is the extreme of foolish rejection. Because if I look at things from an economic viewpoint, and it is not just an issue of the economic viewpoint, whoever has the Soviet market has a great advantage. And we are making no secret that we wish to have this economic market and to have a certain preferential position there. Because this preferential position will mean for us that we will have greater possibilities for discussion with our western partners. If we are to be completely honest, a number of western firms interested in cooperation with us, are quite openly or not so openly very interested in getting into the Soviet market through us. [end recording]

Minister Klaus Meets World Bank Vice President

AU2910184290 Prague CTK in English 1853 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus met here today visiting Vice President of the World Bank Willi A. Wapenhans for talks on the possibilities and conditions of the bank's assistance to Czechoslovakia to overcome the consequences of the current crude oil crisis.

The World Bank is also ready to support the process of privatization and restructuring of key branches of the Czechoslovak economy (e.g., in energy production, banking, etc.)

A World Bank mission, which is to visit Czechoslovakia next month, will deal with the preparation of the groundwork for granting a long-term financial loan for the reform of Czechoslovakia's economy.

ICFTU General Secretary Pays Official Visit

AU2910193190 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CTK)—General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions John Vanderveken met representatives of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions and of other unions here today to inform them of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' goals.

Vanderveken, on a four-day visit to Czechoslovakia since Tuesday, said when assessing Czechoslovak trade unions that they managed to reform themselves quickly so as to be able to play a positive social part in the political and economic reform.

Vanderveken also met with Czechoslovak Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Petr Miller to discuss relations between the Federal Government, the unions and employers, laws on collective bargaining and the new labor code. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions general secretary was interested in the division of powers between the Federal and Republic Governments in solving questions of economic reform.

MSZOSZ Urges Government Talks 26 Oct

LD2710011690 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 26 (MTI)—Participants in the Friday conference of the consultative body of the National Association of Hungarian Trade Unions (NAHTU) [MSZOSZ] stated that the total failure to present the interests of various groups and the government's drastic decision taken without any due consultation of appropriate bodies have caused an outcry and taken the country to the brink of a national strike.

The consultative body of NAHTU declares its solidarity with citizens. Their organizations are in dire straits as a result of government measures, but assurances have been given to the general public all the same that everything is being done that can be done to restore order to the country.

On Friday, to achieve this aim, NAHTU proposed a series of conciliation talks, calling on the government to immediately start negotiations, and displaying a willingness to compromise. The talks should result in agreements tackling the crisis through a coordination of prices, taxes and wages. Should the government refuse to attend the talks, it will have to take responsibility for the consequences.

Interior Ministry Workers Stress Order, Security

LD2710205490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The trade union of Interior Ministry workers has noted the difficult situation that has evolved due to the gasoline price increase and considers it understandable. At the same time, they stress that they will do everything to maintain public order and public security. The Interior Ministry workers say the tension can only be settled in a peaceful way, through discussions.

SZDSZ Issues Appeal on Demonstrations 28 Oct

LD2810164390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] A news conference has been held at the Budapest headquarters of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] from where the following appeal has been sent to us:

The executive officials of the SZDSZ are asking the party members to continue to abstain from demonstrations, as they have up to now, and not to let themselves be provoked at street conflicts. We continue to ask them to restrict their activities to assisting the supply of provisions for the public.

This appeal was issued by the executive officials of the SZDSZ.

Describes Worries

LD2810201890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] held a press briefing. In their opinion, this is the last point at which the political crisis that has evolved can still be settled peacefully, through negotiations. SZDSZ Chairman Janos Kis described it as worrisome that threats were once again voiced during the night for ending the blockade through police force, and that the Hungarian Democratic Forum, via the radio, had mobilized a pro-government demonstration. The SZDSZ has called on its organizations to refrain from organizing any kind of counterdemonstrations.

Government Issues Appeal to Schools

LD2810190390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] The government calls on educational institutions and teachers to do everything they can for the unimpeded operation of their establishments. They ask the leaders of the local self-governments that, where the approach to the schools is uncertain because of the transport conditions, there they should contact the leaders of the institutions and jointly decide what should happen on Monday [29 October], the next teaching day. The statement was signed on behalf of the government by Culture and Public Education Minister Bertalan Andrasfalvy.

Pro-Government Demonstration Occurs 28 Oct

LD2910055690 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 28 (MTI)—"We want order", "There won't be any coup", "Up with the government", "We want constitutional order", "We are the majority", these shouts could be heard the most frequently in the pro-government demonstration staged on Kossuth Lajos Square, in front of the parliament building on Sunday afternoon.

Thousands of demonstrators demanded that those who had set up the barricades should immediately remove the road blocks and restore the normal order of the country. Signatures were collected for a petition.

Some demonstrators blamed the Hungarian television for what they termed as biased reports, and shouted "We want a government press".

The crowd was separated by a police cordon from the counter-demonstrators who also appeared in the square.

Initiated by citizens, the pro-government demonstration was joined by the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Youth Democratic Forum, and the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society.

The demonstrators were addressed by Lajos Fur, minister of defence, and Balazs Horvath, minister of home affairs.

Then the demonstrators marched to the Ministry of Labour where the Interest Coordination Council was meeting in session. Some of them told an MTI correspondent that they were not taking part in a progovernment demonstration and were not demonstrating in favour of prices rises. With the demonstration, they wanted to express the necessity of restoring constitutional order as soon as possible.

Tamas Szabo, state secretary of labour, left the session to address the crowd. He read out the telegram the EC prime ministers summit addressed to the Hungarian Government, expressing solidarity with the forces that are prepared to solve Hungary's grave economic problems and lead its society to a market economy. The telegram says that the EC states are strongly supporting Hungary on its road towards democracy, freedom and economic prosperity, which postulates respect for legality and the rejection of all forms of violence.

Then the crowd marched to the building of the Hungarian television.

TV President Denies Assault Reports

LD2910163390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Telephone interview with Elemer Hankiss, president of Hungarian Television, by unidentified announcer; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] It will becomne clear to you within seconds who the subject of the telephone interview is. To avoid misunderstandings, I stress that the basis of our conversation is an article which appeared in the Vienna KURIER. Good morning, Mr. President.

[Hankiss] Good morning.

[Announcer] In KURIER we found an article which we read out in our Good Morning program. It said the following: According to our information, the participants in last night's demonstration physically assaulted Elemer Hankiss outside the headquarters of Hungarian Television. They ripped off his jacket, and who knows what might have happened if two of his colleagues had not hastened to the defense of this man, who is held in general esteem. The two television technicians helped Elemer Hankiss to escape to the television building. How much of this atrocity is true?

[Hankiss] It is not true. It must be based on some false information.

[Announcer] In your opinion, was this false report filed accidentally or deliberately?

[Hankiss] I am sure it was not deliberate. I have to believe that in the hysterical atmosphere that existed in the city yesterday, it was very easy for anything to be misinterpreted. It is easy for rumors to originate and spread.

[Announcer] I will read you the next two sentences of this article, which say: The red-hot mood of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] demonstrators did not abate. They chanted slogans attacking the mass media and television. How much of this were you aware of?

[Hankiss] None of it. From the building we could hear that the demonstrators were here. I did not understand everything, to be honest, of what they were shouting, and I had a lot other things to do. I did look out, of course. It was not absolutely clear to me to whom the demonstrators belonged. They might have been from the MDF, or somewhere else. I think that—I have to say again—in this tense atmosphere it is entirely understandable that people are dissatisfied with many things, and, therefore, with the television. To many it seemed as if television was pulling to one side, while others felt that it was pulling in the opposite direction. Precisely because our programs have been much criticized this morning already, from two, three, or four sides, I hope that this means that we managed, more or less, to remain neutral.

Jeszensky Holds News Conference 29 Oct

LD2910124490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] We have just managed to make contact with our colleague Tibor Hollauer, who is at the Foreign Ministry, where, at 1200, a news conference began on what real help we can get in the energy supply in the wake of the acute Hungarian crisis.

[Hollauer] Although this issue is the main topic of the news conference, it has not yet been raised in the past 25 minutes. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky outlined the lessons the government has learned from the last few days. As he said, the crisis has no losers. I see only victors, stated Geza Jeszenszky. The entire Hungarian nation has won, and so have constitutional order, the absence of force, the principles of democracy and market economy, as well as the principle that there is a need to evolve appropriate coordinating mechanisms in society.

In the interest of social peace now, on this one occasion, we do not wish to take action against those who committed violations of the law, stated Geza Jeszenszky, but in the future we will not tolerate similar actions.

Speaking about the conduct of the police, he said that the police were influenced in this crisis situation more than in the normal [normalis] democracies by the fact that they wanted to maintain good relations with the population. This will also have to be changed, in the sense that the police, after all, are an executive apparatus.

Regarding the parliamentary and nonparliamentary opposition, the foreign minister said that he is aware of the extremely harsh criticism by the opposition, as well

as its demands for the resignation of government members, and he finds this natural. On the other hand, he sees it as regrettable that the opposition did these things after accepting the arguments of a group acting by anti-constitutional methods.

Finally, the government is glad that these forces withdrew following the settlement of the crisis.

The news conference is continuing. Yet to come is the issue of how the Western democratic states are helping Hungary in this situation.

Possible Fuel Price Liberalization Examined

LD2910132190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] One hour ago the government met in session to examine the draft bill on the basis of which parliament could withdraw gasoline and fuels from central pricing. In response to Hungarian Radio's question, the prime minister's Press Office said that the parliamentary committees concerned will vote on the price liberalization concepts as laid down in the government's stance. This is the material that will be put to the plenary session of the National Assembly.

Horvath Thanks Police for Keeping Public Order

LD2910130590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Interior Minister Balazs Horvath has thanked the police, the Border Guard, and the Government Guard for having guaranteed public order in the course of the last three days. According to Horvath, in the tense situation that had evolved as a result of the protest actions which paralyzed the country's normal functioning, it is mostly thanks to the responsible conduct of the police that the events remained controllable to the end.

National Assembly Session Held 30 Oct

Antall Offers To Resign

LD3010134390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1102 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed house. I did not ask whether or not I could speak, because I did not imagine I would be instructed to do so. Nor would I like to speak at length. I believe that it was enough for those who did so to listen to me twice [referring to hospital interview]. I would ask the National Assembly to provide the opportunity, once, for me to speak at length, and then I will say many things.

Now, I should like to tell you and the country that we entered a new era, a new period, when you elected us. The esteemed representatives of the opposition took note of this, according to the rules of a pluralistic system, when I said that there are things which link this house together. What links us is that the nation could be in a fateful situation when we—no matter which side we stand on—might sit together, and I do not wish that—as in the case of the political rivals in the coalition times—the former rivals should become eternal friends in a concentration camp, as happened then.

We must now be free, because we find the conditions for a constitutional government and for the functioning of a constitutional parliamentary system. Furthermore, I think this crisis was a lesson for every party—within themselves and in their relations with one another—for parliament, for the government, and for interest-protection organizations which cast doubt on one another's legitimacy. We saw today, or rather at the time, that they were sitting side by side—in peace with one another and in agreement—which means that we now have a partner. With this, an era has come to an end between the parliamentary parties in the drawing of distinctions, because the parties did not draw distinctions regarding who was in favor of whom and who opposed whom.

I have not yet been able to contact my fellow ministers, as I have only just gotten out of my sickbed, and will return there.

I believe we, together, should seek the path to lead this country out of the crisis, and that we should make every member of Hungarian society understand what awaits us. One thing I have to say is clear—and I shall now say it: We shall tell everything, even if this causes our downfall. We shall say this: If one believes, if the majority believes, that I am personally unsuitable, I shall leave. As long as it is felt that we really are able to function, I shall ask that—amid the framework of a pluralistic society and a multiparty parliamentary system—the country should remain together, not in false national unity, but in national unity, with regard for basic issues—albeit, criticizing one another in a decent manner. By maintaining the country—amid constitutional frameworks—we should not lose the trust of either the world or the Hungarian people.

For this reason I ask my own party, my coalition partners to whom I am linked by the same roots and strands, the opposition—which is not one opposition but three parties—and I ask the independents, who are independents because they are also independent of one another, to seek this certain common path.

If you really think, together with me, that we have gone beyond basic issues and the problems of legitimacy, then this country will still need two years—albeit with criticism and debate—before we emerge out [of the crisis] by pushing party political considerations into the background.

The other major international lesson of this crisis which we have stated several times—and I have to say it

here—is that they did not believe what we have often said: The peoples of Eastern and Central Europe are without reserves in the sense of national economies. They are without reserves in their state housekeeping, and these peoples will not tolerate the tension. The enthusiasm with which the world welcomed our political transformation, in which the world saw only the fall of totalitarian political regimes, is not a process which takes place amid such pleasant circumstances. It is a tough, difficult process, which must be borne by the nation and by this region together.

As long as you retain me for this purpose, I shall serve, and, in my conviction, my fellow ministers and government and I will draw the lessons. When I have the means and strength to do so, I shall do my utmost. Until then, I give thanks to the country, I give thanks for the good wishes from abroad, and I give thanks to our followers; I give thanks to our friends, and I give thanks to our honorable political rivals for their sympathy. Thank you for listening to me. [applause]

Interior Minister Speaks

LD2910152190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungary 1405 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Remarks by Balazs Horvath, deputy premier and interior minister, at the National Assembly session at the parliament building in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, esteemed house. In the past three days the country has gone through difficult trials. Thanks are due to the country's population for having borne all this in patience, maintaining its discipline, and thanks to all those who fulfilled their calling in these difficult times.

The government has also expressed on this occasion, by its readiness for compromise, that it adheres strictly to constitutionality and legality. At the same time, it decidedly asserts that it expects this of every group and organization of society.

As a result of the all-day discussion of the Interest Coordination Council on Sunday [28 October], an agreement came into being. Both the employees' and the employers' representatives accepted the concept of placing energy prices on market bases as one of the key elements of the government's liberalization program.

At the same time, the government accepted a temporary reduction of the earlier increased prices, until the necessary laws have been enacted. The government is satisfied that, in the interest of resolving the conflict, both the employees' and employers' organizations, sitting down at the same table and cooperating with each other, were able to represent interests as partners, without casting doubt on each other's legitimacy. This will facilitate the future work of parliament and government and their cooperation with the interest representations. As a result of the agreement, legal order has been restored in the country and calm working conditions are once again assured.

The government is aware that with better preparation and more effective information, it could have reduced the depth of the conflict. It is also a part of the grave legacy of the past 40 years that our society is not prepared for the grave trials which await it, and for the avoidance and handling of the conlficts arising from this.

In consequence of all this, demonstrations of such an extent erupted, which evoked the immediate danger of social clashes. The events that took place have damaged the country's economy and have endangered the country's current favorable international judgement. Because of this, the government, in spite of the fact that it felt support behind it, did not wish to use force because it was aware that only a solution based on consensus could give the country the necessary stability.

The government will draw the consequences and it wishes to resolve the grave tasks facing the country by cooperating with the parties of the National Assembly, with the self-governments and the Interest Coordination Council, because this can only be conceived by common consent.

On the basis of all this, and taking into consideration the agreement that came into being at yesterday's session of the Interest Coordination Council, the government asks the National Assembly to debate with urgency the amendment needed for the liberalization, and to adopt it within the shortest possible time, even undertaking extra work. We have submitted it. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

SZDSZ Representative Speaks

LD1910171390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1415 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Remarks by Ivan Petoe on behalf of the Alliance of Free Democrats at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed house. I think we all agree now that what we had in Hungary last week was not some kind of crisis over fuel prices, but a clear political crisis. The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] noted with great relief that the outcome of the events was decided, after all, at the negotiating table. We are glad it did not become necessary to use force. We are glad that those who took part in the protest preserved the peaceful character of their representation throughout, and we are also glad about the agreement.

Let us not believe, however, that with this agreement, the political crisis has also ended. Hungary is no longer the same country it was a week ago. Here, for decades, the response to restrictive government measures has never taken the form of mass street demonstrations. Now this has happened, and we must face the consequences.

Price increases are unpopular, this we all know, but this is not a sufficient reason for setting up countrywide roadblocks. For this to happen, something else like final despair and shaken confidence in the trustworthiness of the government's words has to occur. People are ready to accept many sacrifices if they believe that although the assumption of burdens is inevitable and painful, it is worthwhile. This trust was undermined in the months following the parliamentary elections, and collapsed at the announcement of the fuel price increases, and for this the government must take special responsibility. The current serious political shock was necessary for the prime minister to speak retrospectively and with full clarity about what should have been said during the parliamentary elections, or at the formation of the government at the latest. Even between the two rounds of the local elections the government behaved as if the country had reserves to be mobilized, and even made various promises which were difficult to fulfill. During the same period the political state secretary at the Ministry of Finance questioned the moderately pessimistic predictions of the Economic Research Institute, and every competent official denied that there would be reasons for an early increase in the price of gasoline.

When the price increases, which become drastic because of the long delays, had been decided, the government behaved as if this were a normal measure. They did not consider that they were introducing a measure which was testing public order and about which there should have been preliminary discussions with interest groups and opposition parties, as is customary in a democracy.

They were obviously quite unprepared for the ability of the taxi drivers, who were affected by the price increase, to organize national, planned protests. The deepening of the political crisis, however, could have been prevented if the government had immediately recognized what was happening and what could be expected. Instead of this, at the beginning they were concentrating exclusively on the nonobservance of the law by the organizers of the blockade; from this they draw the conclusion that the conflict should be solved by force and not at the negotiating table.

On Friday [26 October] morning the interior minister even specified the deadline after which the government would have overcome the blockade. It was during these hours that the SZDSZ declared that in the face of the threat of force they were supporting the peaceful protest movement. In this same statement, we clearly declared that we regarded a negotiated settlement as the only possible one. It is not disputed that those who initiated the movement disregarded the legal regulations, it is not disputed that it is the job of the government to keep the law and ensure its observance; however, we must accept that those who set up the roadblocks acted out of desperation, and that a great majority of society shared their feelings. We must take into account that because of the primitiveness of the organizations representing different organizations, those who suffer disadvantages can occasionally only bring themselves into the position of negotiation if they first resort to the extreme instruments of exercising pressure, however unacceptable this is under normal circumstances.

Finally, the starting point should have been that when a protest movement swells into a movement embracing the whole country, a democratic government must find the road to a peaceful negotiated outcome.

Some members of the government, some politicians of the governing parties, tried to convince with great energy—and unfortunately it is quite possible that they, themselves, were convinced—that a tiny minority is facing them, and even appeared to see political agitators. For a long time they used the discussions to stall for time, to tire out the population and the civil disobedience movement. For two days, radio and television reported that representatives of the government were having uninterrupted negotiations with representatives of the protesters. At the end of the second day, a member of the government informed the surprised public that those representing the government did not really have proper authorization to do so. This is how the conflict developed into a heated political crisis.

The agreement that finally emegerd only filled the gaps. In the months to follow, this country must tolerate a series of further, very serious emergency measures. To prevent the economy and the democratic order from collapsing, there must be an agreement between society and government which states that these measures are unavoidable and that accepting them is not without purpose. Society must regain faith that the government is telling the truth, that its steps can be predicted and are serving economic development. This government, at the introduction of the first truly serious measure, did not prove suitable for making the country accept the burdens of economic stability. They could not convince society that their decisions are well-thought-out and they are able to keep to them; at the same time, their unjustified self-confidence prevented them from giving in at the necessary early stage.

Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed house, the SZDSZ is a minority party in parliament; we are not in a position to say what the composition of our government should be. We can only conclude that to balance this country's economy without further shocks, Hungary needs a government it can trust. The country must be able to accept that what the government does—even if it is painful—must be done; furthermore, the government must not hide it when they are forced to take painful steps.

We think the recent events had some further lessons. The political forces must do everything possible to establish the interest coordinating structures and their consolidation. We would like it if employees and employers would also conclude that they need strong, locally based interest representative bodies if they want to become negotiating partners. This is necessary if they wish to avoid a situation whereby, at every conflict of interests, they would only be able to place themselves in a negotiating

position by erecting barricades. This is a situation which we are sure everyone wants to avoid.

Let us regard last night's agreement not only as dissolving a dramatic tension, but as a promising beginning as well. Let us do everything possible so that the handling of the next conflict of social interests should begin where this present one, after a confrontation which shook us all, has ended. Thank you.

FKgP Urges Accelerated Reforms

LD2910174490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1425 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Remarks by Kalman Vincze on behalf of the Independent Smallholders Party at the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. Speaker, esteemed house: [passage omitted]

The stance of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] is as follows: Above all, we state that we see the real reason for the dissatisfaction that arose in the wake of the price increases in the fact that the complete change of regime has not taken place, because the peaceful revolution has not yet reorganized ownership relations. Reprivatization and the solution of the land issue have not yet taken place. To the present day, only a small number of economic bills which could help this process have been dealt with by parliament. The dissatisfaction, which is rightful because of the difficult living conditions, unfortunately surpassed its original aims quickly. Well-organized political forces tried to use the protest, which began with an economic motive, for their own interests. The forming of the blockade, which seriously endangered the normal way of living, and was strategically well organized, proves this.

Everyone must draw the right conclusions from the events of the past few days. The government will have to prepare decisions, and present them to the public, much more carefully than previously. This is why we find it necessary that the social partnership should be institutionalized with the participation of entrepreneurs, employees, and employers, those who are truly entitled to representation of their social interests, and the government. This partnership is the correct way to handle social tension in society in many other countries. We call on the government to initiate legislation introducing the institution of the social partnership. [applause]

All in all, we must admit that the government's readiness for compromise has contributed to the consolidation of the situation, proving that in crucial moments it is able to recognize the interests of stabilization and is also able to make concessions in the interest of this. The economic dissatisfaction, however, could not give moral and legal grounds for trying to force the government, which came into office as a result of free elections, to resign. Nevertheless, aware of our coalition responsibilities, we call on the government to start the realization of the political and economic system transformation, and the completion of the peaceful revolution immediately. The members and the group of parliamentary deputies of the FKgP are sure that the great majority of the Hungarian public, even those who were participants in the recent protest actions, will give the necessary support. Thank you. [applause]

MSZP Chairman Presents Party Views

LD2910162490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1428 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Speech by Gyula Horn, Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) chairman, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed House, my dear fellow deputies. The MSZP's faction believes that ever since the eruption of the gasoline affair there has been, to a certain extent, a new situation in the country. The essence, the lesson, of this is that it is not possible to politicize and govern in the former way, in the former style. According to our conviction, the rapidly deepening crisis brings with it even more political tensions, and there is a need for all of us to join forces in the interest of preventing further dramatic developments.

Mr. Prime Minister is right in the statement he made yesterday, when he said that this affair has only losers; it has no winners.

I would like to immediately add that the taxi drivers must not be held responsible for the damage caused to the country by the three-day paralysis. The damage was unfortunately caused by the consequences of the poor governmental decisions.

From the outset we took the position that the extent and method of the price increase is unacceptable. Since then, the whole country has learned the details of this. At the same time, I have to say that, also according to our judgement, the blockade and the paralyzing of the country are not a good, not a constitutional method, and we must not make a habit of it.

On the other hand, a habit should be made of the government satisfying its commitments as laid down in Paragraph 27 of Law No. 11 of 1987 on legislation. In other words, in all issues which affect broad social strata, before it makes its decisions, it is obliged to seek the opinion of the social organizations and representations concerned. Unfortunately this did not happen either now, or prior to this affair, in the case of similar events.

Furthermore, we consider it regrettable that it was a crisis situation which had to extort the agreement that was carried through yesterday. It was heard here in a veiled form, and more openly yesterday, that the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]—or rather certain representatives of the MDF; the large majority is respectably exempted from this—are holding us responsible because the MSZP and perhaps other opposition parties were supporting the taxi drivers. From the outset we

demanded the suspension of the governmental decision and that the matter should be resolved in the framework of a coordinated and comprehensive settlement. We also proposed that parliamentary discussions should begin without delay. Unfortunately, there was no reaction to these initiatives. At the same time, there were threats from certain quarters.

According to our conviction, it is indispensably important to guarantee all those conditions which serve the prevention of such a crisis. I would like to add that the MSZP did not wish to exploit this situation, either, to obtain political advantages. We did not, and do not want a government crisis; furthermore, we did not, and are not demanding the government's resignation. What we wanted and proposed was action and, in the interest of this, a joining of forces.

I wish to remind the esteemed Assembly and the broader public opinion that on 5 October 1990, indicating concrete elements and emphases, we addressed a letter to the other parliamentary parties, proposing that we convene without delay in the interest of working out an anti-inflation program. We received replies to this letter of ours only from the KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party], indirectly from the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democerats], and from President Goncz.

On 12 October the MSZP's parliamentary faction addressed a letter to Prime Minister Antall, as well as to the speaker of the National Assembly, the essence of which was that we should evolve a crisis-handling system. We formulated and precisely indicated the 15 indispensably necessary laws, without the enactment of which, it is impossible to treat the extremely grave situation of 1990. I would also like to add to this that we have not yet received any reply to this proposal of ours.

According to our convictions, for parliamentary work and, I would add, governmental work to advance, it is indispensably necessary to have continuous coordination and expert activity. We offer our own experts for this, and believe me, they are in no way worse than the experts who are at the disposal of the various faction. We, therefore, are ready to cooperate in this.

I would also like to underscore that the MSZP faction has not been motivated by any kind of personal ambition when making these suggestions. We do not take it as a platitude, or as some kind of blowing of one's trumpet, but if we had been guided by personal political ambitions, we would not have done all we have in the interest of laying the foundations for the change of system and of carrying it through and supporting it.

There is definitely a need, on the basis of the experiences and the lessons of the past days, to elaborate and enact the legal bases for an interest coordination system. According to our conviction, without this, the attainment of the socialist market economy—something we have all accepted as an objective—cannot be guaranteed. We are already taking steps toward a market economy, but we doing practically nothing in the interest of the social aspects of it. It is everyone's responsibility to aid in the transition to a market ecomony.

Even until then, it is definitely necessary, according to the standpoint of our faction, that in the course of the parliamentary debate the proposal submitted by the government should be continuously coordinated with the representatives of employers and employees.

We are happy that the government eventually reached a compromise yesterday and stepped back from its original standpoint. According to our conviction, however, this hardly solves anything as yet; after all, this agreement was brought about by a forced situation. It is also a fact that the new prices, even if only to a smaller extent, have a very large inflation boosting effect. This also shows that there continues to be a need for a crisis-handling package, a crisis-handling program.

I have one more thing to add to this. I consider it right that the government representatives held discussions with the Western partners and the Budapest representatives of the Western countries in these critical days. I consider it just as important, however, that we should do everything with our Eastern partners, neighbors, and with Eastern European suppliers in the interest of solving the grave problems.

Above all, there is a need for us to continue or to recommence efforts in the interst of substantive discussions with the Soviet Union; without this, the tensions cannot be calmed down.

Finally I would just like to say that, among the lessons of the events is that all of us, especially parliament, have to stop dweling on the past. [passage omitted] Moreover, an end must be put to the extremist outbursts in the press, radio, on Sunday mornings, and elsewhere, which incite the mood and do not calm it. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

FIDESZ Respresentative Speaks

LD2910180790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1436 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Remarks by Viktor Orban on behalf of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) at the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed house, ladies and gentlemen. The first great social crisis shaking this new democracy ended between Sunday night and dawn on Monday. We have noted with relief that the sides facing each other possessed the necessary wisdom and have made mutual concessions. Life, it seems, has returned to normal. This crisis has, on the surface, ended happily, and just as it is said in joyful fairy tales, many think that the sides will live happily ever after, and that everything is in order.

We, on the other hand, feel that the past three days have presented us with lessons which we elected deputies must squarely face under any circumstances.

First, we must stress that the government has lied. Even the day before gasoline prices were raised the government denied the measure planned for the next day. It lied again when it justified the price increases to such an extent with the change in the world market prices, whereas it was clear (?to them) that this was only a minor reason for their action; in fact, the government wanted to fill the gaps in the state budget.

The fact that the government has, by now, misled public opinion many times is a bad thing, not only because it undermines the goverment's credibility—which has led to the loss of the government's prestige—but this government's behavior is irresponsible, because the citizen's mistrust of the administration has tangible and far-reaching economic consequences, as events show.

We must also dispel a misconception which has developed in respect to the government's austerity measures. The austerity measures, although unavoidable, are, in themselves, insufficient to restore the economy. We can accept the sacrifices which go hand-in-hand with them if comprehensive economic concepts exist behind the steps which worsen and burden our living standards. The government does not have these. It is not I who says this; MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] statement No. 9, published last night, calls on the government to reveal with complete honesty and full detail the country's economic situation and to create a wide-ranging consensus for the implementation of its program.

We think, therefore—and it is not hidden by the MDF, either—that the government had not yet even reached the stage of revealing the country's real economic situation.

The next lesson in respect to the government is that, at the start of the crisis, it lost its head and spectacularly disintegrated, and it took days to pull itself together. Then, when it was back on its feet, it took a step which precipitated the deepest crisis, when there was danger of violence.

While it is true that it was not the government, but only the largest governing party, the MDF, which organized the pro-government counterdemonstration, the government nonetheless received the relieved forces with joy, shaking the windows of parliament out of their frames. [laughter] It appears that the government felt absolved by them from the responsibility of the Constitution, which is binding on it, too. The government, therefore, has lost not only the moral, but also the legal basis for accusing either those manning the blockade or the pro-government political forces of departing from constitutional grounds. [applause]

At the same time, this does not mean that these events have no serious lessons for the other side, too. Although we understand the impatience that induced the action, we must state openly that he who takes to the streets and brings others with him in support of his demands—no matter how justified these demands are—places an enormous responsibility on his own shoulders. [passage omitted]

For, we must not deny—the action's organizers have not denied—that the crisis had moments when no one could tell what would happen next and whether anyone was in control. This, and the fact that it was days before the properly authorized negotiating partners were found, calls attention to the importance in today's Hungarian society of strong, legitimate, and independent interest protection organizations. This is one of the most important lessons of this crisis.

We hope that the government will draw the appropriate conclusions, but this is not the opposition's job. We hope, however, that every political force and all parliamentary parties of the opposition, will in similar situations in the future try to keep the conflicts within the framework of the Constitution—with all the power they can muster—keeping in view the need to compromise and shepherding things toward compromise. [applause]

Although we are able to sigh with relief, we have no reason to be jolly, because the recent events provide no positive experience which could give rise to joy. Thank you.

Szabad Speaks on Civil Disobedience

LD2910172690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1511 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Remarks by National Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly. I wish to reply to the criticisms directed at the introduction of this debate. [passage omitted]

I decided that, taking advantage of my opportunities as president, I will turn to the Constitutional Court to interpret the Constitution, to decide the question—which, following these three days, I also feel is a vital question, and I point this out because it has not been formulated this way yet—of what the constitutional limits of civil disobediance are. [applause]

Or to put it another way, I want to ask a clear question of the Constitutional Court: Which manifestations of civil disobedience are still in agreement with the rights guaranteed by our Constitution, and which clash with it?

Without wanting to confront what has been said during the current debate, it is evident that the interpretation of this is not clear, even within the Assembly—let alone outside the Assembly. Yet our transition, our democratization and constitutional existence, and what is more, the future of our nation, requires that even the slightest doubt not occur in these fundamental questions. As president, I, therefore, will turn to the Constitutional Court in this matter. Thank you.

Update on Prime Minister's Health Status

LD2810205790 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 28 oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI)—On Saturday afternoon, the prime minister's secretariat informed the press on Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's state of health. As reported earlier, Antall went into hospital on the evening of October 23 for a check-up [which had been] planned for some time. On the following day, he underwent a surgery, including the removal of a lymph node. The histological examination is still under way but the partial results indicate that Antall's lymphadenopathy can be easily kept under control. Given the circumstances, the prime minister is in an appropriate state of health.

Fuel Industry Official on Gasoline Reserves

LD2910141290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] No gasoline shortages are expected in Hungary as long as a wave of purchasing does not get under way, though stocks are still only sufficient for four or five days. On 24 October, when it was leaked that gasoline would be more expensive, almost twice the usual amount was bought.

The department head of the National Mineral oil and Gas Industry Trust, Mrs. Karoly (Solti), told MTI that they would like for the country to have 30 days reserves. This requires a further purchase to the tune of at least $100 million, but there are no funds for this. There is no sense in inceasing imports unless the world market price of mineral oil falls.

On account of the falling Soviet deliveries, so far, Hungary has purchased more than 900,000 tonnes of mineral oil. A further 500-600,000 tonnes would have to be imported this year.

Kadar Seeks International Confidence in Economy

LD2510132890 Budapest MTI in English 1027 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—Hungary should prove with its own example that the East Central European countries are capable of putting their economies back on their feet. According to analysts in the advanced industrial states, Hungary has every chance to achieve that. It is very important for the country not to miss this historic opportunity, Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, told MTI after returning from his trips to Japan and the United States.

To grasp this historic chance, confidence in the Hungarian economy should be increased in the advanced industrial countries, first of all in the overseas nations, the minister said with reference to the experience he gained in Japan and the United States. It became obvious that the business circles of both countries were afraid of the Latin-Americanization of East Central Europe. And a regional [word indistinct] could not always understand the outcome of home policy clashes. Taking all this into account, their assessment of the current sitaution of the states in the region, including Hungary, is not the most favourable, Kadar said.

Summing up the achievements of his visits, the minister referred to the Japanese promise to support Hungary's endeavour in the group of 24, and the [word indistinct] of bilateral co-operaiton in environmental protection.

As for the United States, the minister greatly appreciated the support that cannot be measured by financial terms, for instance the statement by President Bush that Hungary is already a democratic country and his promise for U.S. support in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Concrete forms of inter-company co-operation were also discussed, Kadar said.

Austrian Trains Deliver 70,000 Gallons of Gas

LD2910010490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Two Austrian trains carrying 70,000 liters of gasoline have arrived in Hungary. Earlier, the Austrian Government had promised rapid assistance. The gasoline was transferred to representatives of the Hungariran gasoline distribution enterprise at the border. The state crude oil industry directorate in Vienna announced that it is ready to send further deliveries.

Jeszenszky on U.S. Oil for Eastern Europe

LD2710201390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Attila M. Nemeth; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Jeszenszky] [passage omitted] The United States is ready to make oil from its strategic reserves available to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, provided a request is made in this respect and provided it seems justified.

[Nemeth] Would it be in the form of aid or business?

[Jeszenszky] I do not know the precise conditions. It is certain that this will be a favorably [priced] good should a disasterous situation develop. For the time being, however, this is not at issue. [passage omitted] Direct contact has been established, partly by myself and partly by other government officials, with Chancellor Vranitzky and Foreign Minister Mock of Austria, and as far as I know our ambassador negotiated with [U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence] Eagleburger, possibly in the United States. With regard to the FRG, there has been personal contact with Chancellor Kohl. [passage omitted] The most important and specific step has been taken by Germany. Chancellor Kohl has promised to send—on a special plane on Monday—a German government delegation to assess the general situation of the

Hungarian economy and, obviously, to study this new situation which has developed. [passage omitted]

German Economic Delegation Ends One-Day Visit

LD3010125590 Budapest MTI in English 1043 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 29 (MTI)—A German delegation of high-ranking economic experts, headed by Otto Schlecht, secretary of state of the Ministry of Economy, paid a one-day visit to Hungary on Monday.

Following the negotiations, the secretary of state gave a statement to Hungarian television and the Hungarian news agency MTI. He said they hold it indispensable to assist the Hungarian Government in the interest of implementing economic reforms. The aim of their current visit was to look into the facts and analyze the situation, in order to see where assistance could be provided.

The delegation came to Hungary at the request of Chancellor Kohl, the secretary of state said.

In the course of talks, the members of the working party assured their Hungarian partners that they support the reform steps of the Hungarian Government in the interest of the country's economic recovery within a few years. They understand that the u-turn can only be successful if concrete aid is given. They promised they would represent the interests of Hungary in the European Communities, as they are adamant that the the country should receive bilateral and mulitlateral support.

Gyorgy Matolcsy, political secretary of state of the Prime Minister's Office, said they had received several pieces of good advice from the delegation, and they concluded that a German-Hungarian joint committee, and a special energy working party would shortly be set up to promote the resurrection of Hungary's economy.

The Hungarians asserted that economic transformation required significant amounts of money, for which a lump sum was indispensable. The country needed not only working capital, but also financial assistance to see it through the economic burdens of transformation. It requested assistance from the German partners to this end and, as the German secretary of state said, they agreed to submit the matter to the European Communities as advocates of Hungary.

Romania Pledges Support for Maintenance of Order

LD2810130290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Romania, out of humanitarian reasons, will examine ways in which it can help the Hungarian people in overcoming their difficulties. The government in Bucharest has assured, in a declaration, its support for the maintenance of the legal order of Hungary, because in its view, Central and Eastern European democratic development is endangered if the situation becomes unstable in any of the region's countries.

The Romanian Government notes that internal problems are the issue in Hungary, and at the same time it trusts that the country's legal [torvenyes] authorities will find a solution for these difficulties.

EEC Message Recognizes Political Change

LD2910091190 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Rome, October 28 (MTI)—In a message addressed to Hungary, the West European heads of government highly appreciated the change in the political regime and the country's contribution to the reunification of Germany.

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl said reunification had started on the day when Hungary opened its western border, something which the German people would never forget.

The current wave of strikes in Hungary was also raised in the summit. Several spokesman said their governments followed the events with anxiety and sympathy, and expressed the hope that the conflicts would be settled peacefully.

In a separate note, the Italian Foreign Ministry said, "We follow the situation in Hungary with sympathy and anxiety. The Hungarian Government informed the communities on the preliminaries and the causes of the crisis. We are confident that the first democratically elected Hungarian Government will be able to stand this hard trial which is a difficult moment of the political and economic transition.

"Italy is prepared, also in the framework of the five-sided Alps-Danube (Pentagonale) cooperation, to take all measures, giving concrete support and assistance to Hungary. We hope that you would seek to settle the social tension in a peaceful way, without plunging the new and still fragile achievements of the Hungarian people in danger," the note of the Italian Foreign Ministry says.

Council of Europe Membership Expected 7 Nov

AU2710205990 Rome ANSA in English 1227 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] (ANSA) Strasbourg, October 26 — Hungary will formally enter the Council of Europe on November 6 and, according to sources at the 23-nation organisation's secretariat, Hungary could be followed by Poland and Czechoslovakia before the end of spring next year.

Hungarian entry will be signed and sealed at a session of the 23 foceign ministers convened in Rome at the

suggestion of Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. The day before, the Council's justice ministers will mark the 40th anniversary of the European Convention on Human Rights.

All the 34 nations in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which includes Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, [words indistinct] states and [word indistinct] have been invited to attend.

The meetings here will debate the Council's future, its expansion to include countries to the east, and plans being ventilated to transfer some of the CSCE's functions to the Strasbourg-based body.

Meeting in Lisbon in May, the Council's foreign ministers proposed that the CSCE's human contacts brief should be transferred to the Council [words indistinct] July summit in London, when (?western) alliance laid the premisses for re-thinking its role [word indistinct], NATO approved an Italian idea for a pan-European assembly to be linked to the Council.

Both proposals will be on the agenda in Rome, as well as the calendar for the extention of the Council's scope to cover all Central and Eastern Europe.

Supportd by Italy, the European Community's duty (?chair) until the end of the year, the Council's secretary-general, Catherine de Lumiere, believes that these should be the first steps towards making the Council the basis for a future "European confederation."

Council sources say they see this concept as much the same as the "common (?European)" Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who is expected to use his visit to Spain and France over the next couple of days as a grand [word indistinct] for [word indistinct] launching his vision.

It was in a [word indistinct] Council of Europe in Strasbourg in June that Gorbachev proposed the Council as the future "common home of the Europeans."

Fur Meets With Belgian Counterpart 25 Oct

LD2810205290 Budapest MTI in English 1751 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Brussels, October 27 (MTI)—Defence Ministers Lajos Fur of Hungary and Guy Coeme of Belgium held discussions on various aspects of European security, including the talks on conventional arms, the plans and prospects of new security structures in Europe, and the challenges faced by the two countries and their armed forces.

According to the communique issued on Fur's visit to Brussels on Thursday and Friday [25, 26 October], the two ministers emphasized the usefulness of regular meetings between the defence ministers of the CSCE countries.

The two ministers reaffirmed the cooperation protocol signed during the visit to Hungary of Guy Coeme on November 3, 1989, welcomed its perfect implementation, and agreed on accelerating the latter. The chiefs-of-staff were instructed to work out a time schedule for implementing the initiatives laid down in the protocol.

On Saturday, chiefs-of-staff Laszlo Borsits of Hungary and Jozeph Charlier of Belgium held talks in Brussels. Fur returned to Hungary on Friday, and Borsits and other members of the delegation on Saturday.

Candidates Answer PAP Questions on Presidency

LD2910092390 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 28—PAP approached the six presidential candidates registered by the State Electoral Commission with three identical questions which were:

1. Which of the presidential prerogatives do you consider most important?

2. Which issue would you tackle first were you elected to the office of Poland's president?

3. What political role can you predict for yourself should you lose the election?

Here are the candidates' answers in alphabetical order:

Roman Bartoszcze

1. I have spoken on many an occasion in favour of the parliamentary formula of government. It involves recognition of the role of the Polish president as the ultimate arbiter in potential disputes or political struggle.

I deem the president's supreme prerogative to be his right to initiate the formation of cabinet after a governmental crisis by suggesting a chosen nominee for the office of prime minister to the parliament.

2. I am going to initiate a governmental decision on the commencement of a great task of putting the state in order and planning the country's devlopment. It is necessary to have such "a major national cleaning operation."

3. Irrespective of the election results I shall remain the chairman of the Polish Peasants' Party. Being in charge of an organization like this is a task time-consuming enough not to make me worry about having something to do.

On top of that I always have a place to return to—after all in my home village of Slawecin I have a farm and my family for whom my victory might entail a great many lonely days.

Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz

1. The prerogatives I believe to be most important are those that would guarantee that the constitutional system should not be abused, that it would not undergo deviation.

2. It depends upon the constitutional powers of the president.

If the president were to be—the way I prefer it too, by the way—a guardian of the constitutional order and a person controlling the temperature of public life, then the first issue with regard to which I would like to have my say would be to try to erase the lines of division within the Polish society.

It would be an attempt to alleviate political struggle and confrontation.

3. Were I to lose the presidential election I am going to try running for the parliament.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki

1. The defining of the role of the president within the state is going to be one of the key issues to be solved by a new constitution.

It is my belief that in the present situation in Poland the president should not and cannot confine his functions to those of representation only.

Neither can he fill in for the government. He must first of all safeguard the constitution and outline the state's strategic policy.

2. I am going to stitch what has been torn during the electoral campaign because it is only through a joint effort that we can deal with problems we now face.

3. In any event I am going to remember that the benefit of the Republic of Poland is more important than anything else and it should be put above any particular claims.

Leszek Moczulski

1. To guard the dignity and interests of the Republic of Poland, to exercise the executive powers within the limits defined by law.

2. I shall disband both chambers of the parliament (Sejm and Senate) and hold general, free elections which should take place within three months.

3. The same function that I am carrying out now: to work till final victory towards restoring a fully independent, democratic and just Poland.

Stanislaw Tyminski

1. Same as those every queen bee has.

2. I shall dissolve the parliament and have free elections.

3. I do not permit myself to think about defeat. "Alea Iacta Sunt"—the dice have been cast.

Lech Walesa

1. With my idea of president everything is important. I'm going to manage in any circumstances.

2. A good deal needs to be entered with society, which goes to say we need to achieve support that would ensure a symbiosis between the president, the prime minister—and therefore the government—and society.

3. I cannot answer that question as I will have to behave like a Pole and who knows how bad the situation is, how

awfully bad it is, and I will have to do something which is going to be very responsible and infavourable for myself.

And at the same time I do know that a great number of people are going to be dissatisfied.

A very dangerous situation is going to occur. Oh my, I can see it coming. But I will do my best to control it so that Poland comes to no harm.

Candidates Present Views on Radio Program

LD2910121490

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0625 GMT on 29 October broadcasts a 30-minute election program from its election studio. There are six candidates in today's program, who will have five minutes each to present their views.

The program begins with the first candidate, Leszek Moczulski of the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN], giving a brief account of the present situation, which he says is characterized by acute economic difficulties and protest actions. He blames the government's inadequate program and says that KPN has the courage and determination to bring about profound changes, and counts upon public support.

The next speaker is Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He says: "Poland, the life of the country and its problems, will not end on 22 November, nor on 9 December, irrespective of who is going to win."

There follows a brief interview with Aleksander Smolar, the premier's chief political adviser, on Mazowiecki's style of work and his unique ability to listen with attention to everybody, whether it is a head of state or an ordinary citizen, and irrespective of whether Mazowiecki agrees or not with the views of his interlocutor. Mazowiecki also works very hard. Later Mazowiecki continues his statement: "I am not a rally speaker or a man of big meetings. I feel better in a more direct contact with people, in conversation than in big speeches." A brief exchange between an unidentified moderator and Mazowiecki follows:

[Question] "It has been said that you listen more than talk in a conversation, but it appears that a politician likes to listen to his own voice.

[Mazowiecki] "To be able to listen is, in my view, a fundamental element of democracy. I think that democracy is not only a matter of structures, competence, and divisions. This is all very important. But democracy is also a dialogue, a more profound dialogue between people, and being able to listen to what an interlocutor has to say and to treat him seriously. This is, I believe, a feature of democratic politics.

[Question] "Do you like to talk at all?

[Mazowiecki] "I have never thought about it.

[Question] "What actions prevail in politics?

[Mazowiecki] "Wide public actions and the awareness that current and long-term effects must always be in focus.

[Question] "So, politics cannot be made at rallies?

[Mazowiecki] "Yes, but the rallies are only one element of politics, and one cannot deny it.

[Question] "Do you see the possibility to use the force unleashed by a rally for constructive action?

[Mazowiecki] "Yes. I took part in various mass meetings in 1980, 1981, and 1988 during strikes, and this force, which was directed then against something, was also the force of struggle for something, for a different Poland. Thus, it was a constructive action as well.

[Question] "Following years have obliged us to take very specific actions.

[Mazowiecki] "And we are still under this obligation, as only through specific action can our common involvement in changing Poland express itself."

The next guest of the election studio is Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. A reporter begins with recalling recorded excerpts of his Sejm speech in September. Cimoszewicz denies that this was the beginning of his presidential campaign. Later, he talks in general about current economic difficulties and unsolved social issues, and promises to present his proposals for changes in the next programs.

Next is Lech Walesa. After a long musical introduction there are excerpts of Walesa's speeches at recent election rallies, including: "I want to be a president of all Poles"; "We do no know what model of presidency, you the electorate, will suggest to a future president." There are also excerpts concerning the making of programs by the people and the importance of speedy privatization. Finally, Walesa says: "Ladies and gentlemen, the development and direction of changes in Poland may depend on every vote. We can remain in stagnation, sinking slowly, or we can go forward. So each vote can decide who and how. If you decide, there is also an obligation, if not you cannot blame the politicians, but you alone for not making the right decision. And now I tell you frankly. With understanding and cooperation, I am able to make a new system in Poland quite soon, but together with all society, not alone. I have brought nothing here, I am not going to give anything away. I only guarantee equal chances and possibilities for participation, and I shall do everything possible to help the Polish reforms, but not alone." The statement ends with another musical tune and a voice saying: Walesa-yes.

The fifth presidential candidate, Roman Bartoszcze, talks about himself and his family, and the Polish Peasant Party. Later, he explains why he decided to become a politician, and goes on to outline issues of

particular importance to him, including the general economic situation and agriculture in particular.

The final candidate is Stanislaw Tyminski. After thanking for support, he says that he has made the decision to stand because he wants to help build a new Poland.

The broadcast ends with the announcement that the next election studio will be tomorrow at 0625 GMT.

Presidential Candidates Hold Town Meetings

LD2910093790 Warsaw PAP in English 2305 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 28—Presidential runners went travelling to various towns to hold campaign meetings with the populace.

Mazowiecki in Plock

I cannot afford demagogy and empty promises, I have a dual role to play in the campaign: that of prime minister and that of presidential candidate, said Tadeusz Mazowiecki while talking to residents of his home city of Plock, north of here, at a rally.

The line of changes that we have been attempting to implement in the past year, he argued, must be continued. It might be dangerous for Poland should we deviate from it.

Mazowiecki also stressed that no one—regardless of the outcome of the forthcoming elections—was allowed to overturn the Polish cart.

Asked on a number of occasions about his attitude towards Lech Walesa, Mazowiecki explained: I do not believe us to be enemies, although we are indeed political opponents. We do not share the same concept of democracy, nor the same idea of presidency.

I opt for a stabilised democracy, for respect of all state authorities. I do not subscribe, however, to the idea of presidency running along the following line: distinctions for me, responsibility for you, he said.

Mazowiecki's meeting with Plock activists of the Catholic Intelligentsia Club ended his many-hour visit to that city. In the course of the event, Mazowiecki said:

—Problems of the German minority in Poland must be regulated the way problems of any other minority are solved: with no special favors.

—Changes in the agrarian structure cannot be artificially accelerated, their course is conditional, among other things, on the development of services in rural areas.

Bartoszcze in Krakow

Presidential runner and Chairman of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] Roman Bartoszcze canvassed the local electorate for votes at a rally held in the main square of Krakow, southern Poland.

He said that PSL was the only part that had a comprehensive programme of rebuilding the state, an alternative economic and social plan with regard to that of deputy prime minister Leszek Balcerowicz.

I do not blame the government for the current condition of the countryside but for their attempts at arguing that farmers and their demands are a threat to the success of Polish reforms, while politicians struggling to improve the situation in rural areas are a threat to democracy, said Bartoszcze.

Moczulski in Biala Podlaska

There is no point in pussy-footing around reforms, reforms of what we have or what has been imposed upon us, said Leszek Moczulski of the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN] at an electoral rally held in Biala Podlaska, east of here.

There is no point in treating those responsible for Poland's misfortunes with gloved hands, Moczulski went on. There is no point in playing politics with "nomenklatura" or some such. There is no point in keeping our heads bowed toward Moscow.

It all has to be severed, changed dramatically. It may be that these elections, or the next ones, will result in some changes. And if elections do not do it, we will have to resort to other methods, warned Moczusli.

Walesa Discusses 'Regulator' Role as President

LD2910232290 Warsaw PAP in English 1817 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 29—Claiming that Walesa has no programme is a manipulation, Lech Walesa stated here today at a meeting with members of the Solidarity factory commissions from Polish State Railways units throughout Poland.

You cannot have a programme when powers of a new president are unknown yet. They are still to be adopted by a new Sejm (lower house), Walesa said.

It may turn out I will have no powers and will only shake hands like the German president. Today the best programme is the concord between society and the government and the parliament, and the president should play the role of a regulator, Walesa stated.

Walesa Urges Participation in Elections

LD3010093190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1902 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Election speech by Lech Walesa on 29 October; place not specified—live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening ladies and gentlemen. I did not want to be the first, but once again fate has put me in the first place. I am starting the presidential electoral campaign as the first. I am going to meet you several times. At this meeting I want to above all encourage you and prove to you that your participation, both in the electoral campaign and political life, is a condition of our success and our arguments. Naturally, one can look for failures in the past.

I do not like all this—that we have a free Poland, we have an independent Poland. One would think that all the conditions are there, and yet in Poland it is not that good. And yet there is much embitterment and dissatisfaction in Poland. Thus I ask, what is really happening here? I ask, where are the hinderances? I travel through Poland and look for the hinderances, I look for a reply to those questions. But above all I am looking because I want our future to be better, that there will not be so many reservations toward me, to the political situation, and to the economic situation.

In 1980 when I started the strike, I told you we would win; I only needed solidarity, the solidarity of the shipyard workers inside and the enterprises [word indistinct]. Today, when I see the stagnation, the dissatisfaction, I cannot (?forget). I ask myself: Where does it come from, and today I can already try to answer that question. Well, it all comes from our not getting ourselves ready to govern. The roundtable is today putting a brake on our development, only having exclusively as its task to open the door to freedom, to open the door through which the public were to enter and speak with their own voices. It was supposed to solve Polish economic, legal, and political problems on its own through its own elected delegates.

As a result of this I demand, I ask, I beg: Join in if you want things to be better, join in the representing, the governing. We, including myself, are at a different stage—at the stage of the fight for your access to government. There cannot be a situation whereby 60 percent of the public do not take part in local government elections. That cannot be. That is [word indistinct], that is not the school. Today you have to take part, because today the stake is Poland, its form, its welfare, and the welfare of our children. That is also why the programs are popular, and the program says—and of the other candidates—that it is all going badly. That is because too little is demanded, too little participation. That is why at my first meeting, please, if you want things to be better, if you want more, if you want (?things more wisely), then only and exclusively by participating can you achieve that.

Mazowiecki Explains Differences With Walesa

LD2810101990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Today Mazowiecki is spending the day in Plock. [passage omitted]

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] Speaking seriously, on 31 August when I was speaking in the Gdansk shipyard, I said—and I stick to it and will stick to it during this entire campaign and later, regardless of its results—I would not like the difference in politics to divide us so much that we are no longer opponents but enemies. It is difficult for me to explain that I have not lost respect for Walesa, but I differ with him fundamentally. However, it is not an argument between two people. It is a difference between two concepts of democracy, of what Poland needs, whether it is a structured and peaceful democracy or domination by a person and around him a system which is totally at his pleasure and unregulated. That is how I see the difference. [end recording]

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1900 GMT on 28 October adds in a similar report the following recorded statement by Prime Minister Mazowiecki: "I welcome both my supporters and my opponents. I believe that the culture of democracy ought to teach us that Poland must be built by us all, working together."]

Mazowiecki Outlines Concept of Presidency

LD2910101190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Tadeusz Mazowiecki spent his name day in his home town of Plock. [passage omitted] A meeting with residents in the Przedwiosnie theater lasted more than two hours.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] What you heard on television yesterday [27 October] on what someone has called the five variants on the Mazowiecki subject, I tell you that I will not reciprocate with five variants on the subject of Walesa. [applause] However, speaking seriously, I would like to say that I would not like the difference in politics to divide us so much, so that we are no longer opponents but enemies. I would like to keep it within the category of political differences of political opponents, but not enemies. [applause] Unfortunately, the picture of the presidency which Lech Walesa presents is a picture of a president who can do everything but not be responsible for anything, who puts the blame on everyone else. [applause] And that is the difference: how the idea of the presidency is perceived. Is it perceived as a president who is not only a representative one, but one having specific powers, above all in the area of certain strategic state decisions, but a president who also respects other authority, the division of the legislative authority and other authorities, or whether he should be president who is here one moment and there the next, who everywhere has to put things right, but basically says: decorations for me, but responsibility for you.

I have not lost respect for Walesa, but I differ from him fundamentally. However, it is not an argument between two people. I could, for instance, go and have a cup of coffee with Walesa, and I am always ready to do that. It is only a difference of concept. [applause] [end recording]

Solidarity Mazowsze Chapter Holds Congress

AU2610123190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Oct 90 p 3

[Krzysztof Kowalczyk report: "Why Bother Talking? Let Us Vote for Lech!"]

[Text] The "Solidarity" Mazowsze Chapter Congress on Saturday took almost an hour to decide whether or not to hang up a Lech Walesa election poster in the hall. Neutral arguments in this regard ("If we hang up a picture of one, why not the other? They are both from Solidarity") or sensible views ("Are we to trust in portraits instead of people, just like in the 1950's?") were to no avail. After a vote (134 people in favor, 100 against, and 54 abstentions) the portrait of Walesa was hung up, but the "Center Accord" caption on it was concealed.

When the actual debate on the subject of support for Walesa began, it turned out that the required quorum was too low by about a dozen people. Therefore the congress considered ways of reducing the size of the quorum ("some 60 delegates have never bothered to attend regional congresses. Why not consider them dead?")

Michal Boni, chairman of the Mazowsze Chapter, suggested that before the vote takes place, the delegates should discuss what the trade unionists expect of Walesa. "There has always been room for talks in Solidarity," he said. But the only reaction was shouting: "Why bother talking? Let's vote for Lech!"

"The National Commission resolution in support of Walesa has turned the union into a voting machine," said Jerzy Wertenstein-Zulawski. "If Walesa wants to be the president of all Poles, he will sometimes have to speak against Solidarity. As a ruling party, Solidarity will have to shoulder the blame for the mistakes of the future authorities, and I never joined any party, but a trade union and a pluralistic social movement."

Wertenstein's remarks encountered a hostile reaction, attempts were made to drown him out by means of hand-clapping. Some people left the hall. It was just like an old Polish United Workers Party meeting.

In this situation, Michal Boni tendered his resignation. "I have always said that everyone in our Solidarity is entitled to express his views. Before the vote, whose outcome is obvious, we should listen to those who have different views." By a huge majority, the congress gave him a vote of confidence, and he withdrew his resignation.

Despite the lack of a quorum, the congress voted in favor of Walesa. At the same time, there were calls for an acceleration of privatization and for society's greater participation in reforming the country.

"Rapid privatization means that a small group of people takes over most of the assets and becomes a new social group," warned Andrzej Milkowski, leader of the movement of workers self-management bodies. "Shares held by workers is the right solution, otherwise there will be a class struggle."

The congress rejected the idea of drawing up in advance lists of enterprises to be privatized and creating companies out of state treasury funds because that could interfere with structural changes and enhance the recession. Privatization, said the trade unionists, should be included in the constitution, and its program should be negotiated with society.

The idea of setting up a trade union fund to aid the unemployed met with little interest. The delegates did not feel it in their power to burden their factory committees with financial commitments. At the same time, they called for the abolition of taxation on supernumerary wages.

In a speech that was constantly interrupted by whistling, Zbigniew Bujak said: "In the election, Solidarity should be neutral via-a-vis both candidates. You have voted for Walesa, but straight afterwards you have given him a dud check by calling for an abolition of the tax on supernumerary wages. There is not enough money to do so. I see that either it is impossible to talk about concrete matters today, or we are incapable of it."

There were many demands that Bujak and Aleksander Malachowski be deprived of their mandates.

Under the slogan "A man of the right votes for the right," a young man went round the hall collecting signatures in support of Janusz Korwin-Mikke's presidential candidacy. He collected three.

Socialist Party Congress Opens 27 Oct

LD2810014590 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—The 25th Unification Congress of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) opened here today for a three-day session.

Over 250 delegates from Poland and abroad representing most prominent currents in the Polish Socialist movement have been invited to attend the gathering.

The congress was opened by Professor Jan Jozef Lipski, who said he hoped that it would be proper to speak of a united Polish Socialist Party as early as tomorrow.

He also welcomed in particular Lidia Ciolkoszowa, president of the Polish Socialist Party abroad participating in the congress.

National Bank Publishes New Financial Monthly

AU2610122490 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Section) in Polish 22 Oct 90 p 1

["P.A."-signed report: "The NPB Has its Own Bulletin"]

[Text] The first issue of a new monthly bulletin published by the National Bank of Poland has just appeared. It contains information on economic performance and the financial situation in September 1990, a discussion of the central bank's financial policy, and the results of the banking system consolidation after the last eight months. The print run totals 200 and the bulletin is well presented. In a few days we shall see the appearance of the English version in a larger print run.

Much of the information contained by the bulletin has already been reported by us. However, the material published in the bulletin is complete and officially checked. One could say that the contents bears an official seal of approval. Thus, the bulletin is intended to be an authoritative source of information for economists and analysts and the six week delay caused by the need to wait until bank's figures were balanced is not too grave. It compares favorably with similar publications produced by other central banks. It would be a good idea though to gradually increase the scope of the bulletin not just by statistical data, for example, on other commercial banks, but by analyses and forecasts by monetary policy experts.

Bialystok Police Directed To Protect Buildings

LD2710213390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The Bialystok Voivoda has issued instructions that will bring into effect the protection of all buildings of public utility from today until 5 December. The instructions oblige the command of the voivodship police to undertake all measures—including the use of direct force—necessary to assure the security and conditions for normal functioning of the institutions using such buildings.

Police End KPN Members' Sit-in in Katowice

LD2910074290 Warsaw PAP in English 1813 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 28—Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] members were removed early this morning from a district railway administration headquarters in the southern city of Katowice by special police forces.

The KPN sit-in followed Friday's railway guard operation during which illegally set-up propaganda and retail stands had been dismantled at Katowice's main railway station.

In view of the recurring unauthorized appropriation of public buildings the Katowice Voivode issued a directive on Saturday to have the buildings protected.

Acting under the directive local police chief ordered the people occupying the railway building to be removed.

It took a riot company and an anti-terrorist police force some thirty minutes to clear the building and escort 28 people to district police headquarters for medical examination and interrogation.

It turned out that none of the people temporarily detained had suffered any bodily injuries and, subsequently, KPN activists were released.

Defense Minister Comments on Army 'Transformations'

LD2810133390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0705 GMT 28 Oct 90

[From the "Radio Military Magazine" program]

[Text] This week the most important event in our armed forces was the annual report-back conference of the commanding cadres of the Polish Army, chaired by the minister of national defense. The commanders of military districts and the branches of the armed forces presented reports on the state of implementation of tasks in the current year and also their intentions for the coming year. Undoubtedly one of the most interesting features of the meeting was the presentation by Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, Leutenant General Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk on the new draft model of our Army. It has a decisively reformatory character, and is not at all the final version. The authors, it was said, will not shrink from any improvements found necessary.

After the end of the meeting, Defense Minister, Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, spoke to the listeners of the Radio Military Magazine.

[Kolodziejczyk] It is necessary to state with satisfaction that despite the fact that the Army has functioned within the framework of the survival budget—for this was the only budget that the state of the economy allowed for—that the process of intensive transformations has been commenced in the Army. This is a component disturing the normal course of functioning of the Army, but the balance is positive. We are pleased that despite many negative phenomena that have affected the functioning of the Army and the psychological state of the cadres and all soldiers, we have succeeded in maintaining at the appropriate level the basic parameter which the armed forces must meet in relation to the nation, that is, the parameter of battle readiness. We harbor the hope that in the course of reforming the social and economic system in the state, we will keep up with this process, and that the next year will be a year of serious model and structural changes as regards our armed forces.

All of this cannot be separated from the external context, from political changes around us, in Europe and the world. Despite the great optimism that we attach to the Helsinki process, to the Vienna negotiations, the easing of tensions in Europe, we are not free from certain fears, for we, as military people, must always accept as the foundation of our activity the least favorable, the most difficult, situation. And it is in such a context that we are planning our activity in the coming year, assuredly in an equally difficult economic situation. We are however conscious that the armed forces, as long as they are indispensible to the state, must be efficient, and must give full guarantees for the security of our borders, the borders of a sovereign state.

USSR's Gorbachev Sends Telegram to Jaruzelski

LD2710213890 Warsaw PAP in English 1614 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Flying over Poland for an official visit to Spain, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a telegram with wishes of peace and prosperity to Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Polish people.

Gorbachev also voiced hope for further development of relations of good-neighbourhood and cooperation between Poland and the USSR in the interests of consolidating security in Europe.

Border Talks With CSFR on Border Traffic Begin

LD2710103190 Warsaw PAP in English 2233 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—In connection with the continuing talks between Poland and Czechoslovakia over the restoration of the border traffic within near-border zones PAP has asked the Foreign Ministry for more details of the Polish standpoint in this question.

International traffic within near-border zones had been controlled by a Polish-Czechoslovak convention signed in 1935. The convention covered the population living within 15-kilometre zones on both sides of the border. This convention was the basis for signing a similar convention in 1959 which is binding until today with changes brought by executive protocols of December 1959 and May 1985. The convention was unilaterally suspended by Czechoslovakia in 1981.

The Czechoslovak side justifies its extention of the suspension time with purely economic reasons. It believes that this decision is dictated by fear of excessive shopping in Czechoslovakia. The Polish authorities say that this point is insignificant and apparently incompatible with the letter of the convention and the Rotocols.

2-Day Talks on FRG Border Treaty Commence

LD3010124890 Hamburg DPA in German 1015 GMT 30 Oct

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—The head of the political department at the Foreign Ministry, Dieter Kastrup, today started two-day negotiations on the German-Polish border treaty and a more comprehensive treaty on cooperation and good neighborliness. After his arrival at the [Warsaw] airport, he said he had come with the intention to lead the negotiations in a swift and constructive way. However, it would be expecting too much to believe that finished results to form the basis of the talks beween Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on 8 November are already available. [passage omitted]

Geremek Meets North Atlantic Assembly Head

LD2510192790 Warsaw PAP in English 1654 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—Patrick Duffy, the chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly, ended a visit to Poland today after meeting with Bronislaw Geremek, the chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee.

Before departing, Duffy told PAP that he hoped cooperation would develop between Poland and the member countries of the North Atlantic Assembly, adding that the assembly was considering the possiblity of organzing joint military training operations and would encourage Poland to join in programs of arms purchases and technology transfer. "This should increase the security of your country and lower the cost," Duffy said.

Reactions to Continued Moldavian Separatist Trends

Rallies Show Solidarity With Moldavia

AU2710143690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1008 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/10/1990—Demonstrations of protest against the plans to legislate the proclamation of the Gagauz and Transdniestran Republics take place these days in several cities in Romania.

The thousands of participants in the protest rallies on October 26 in Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj-Napoca expressed their support to the appeal to all Romanians addressed by the Council of the People's Front of the Moldovan Republic for opposition to the danger spelt by the Gagauz and Transdniestran separatists, for defence of the territorial integrity of the Moldovan Republic.

The demonstrators in Bucharest handed over a protest note at the USSR Embassy.

Likewise, political formation and sociocultural organizations released protest notes against the events in the Moldovan Republic, demanding the cessation of the separatist actions in that republic.

Buzau Demonstration Supports Bessarabia

AU2710132990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] A short time ago, a big demonstration took place in the Municipality of Buzau under the motto: Buzau supports Bessarabia. The meeting was organized by the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum of Buzau—which includes the National Liberal Party, the National Peasants Christian Democratic Party, the Ecologist Movement, and the Republican Party—in cooperation with the prefect's office of that county.

Those who took the floor expressed concern about the situation in the Soviet Moldavian Republic and about the fate and integrity of Bessarabia. On this occasion, an appeal was sent to Romania's president and our country's government, and another appeal was sent to President Gorbachev.

At the same time, the representative of the Republican Party proposed the organization of a peace relay race which should start in front of the Romanian Parliament Building in the direction of Kishinev.

Protest March for Unity, Integrity

AU2710175590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/10/1990—A march of protest was staged in Bucharest on Saturday, October 27, as part of the actions of protest arranged by the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Organisation against the validation of the proclamation of the Gagauz and Dniester Republics.

Having crossed several thoroughfares in Bucharest with banners reading "observe Bessarabia's historical unity and integrity," "Bessarabia—Romanian land from Hotin to the sea," the participants in the march arrived at the USSR Embassy where they adopted a statement and a protest which were handed over to that embassy's representatives.

PNL, PNT-cd Event Supports Bessarabia

AU2710175490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1606 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/10/1990—On Saturday the Bacau branches of the National Liberal Party [PNL] and of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] organised a meeting of solidarity with Bessarabia's inhabitants. During the meeting appeals were launched for the observance of the territorial integrity of the Moldovan Republic. On the same occasion the exhibition of photographs "Bessarabia and Bukovina—old Romanian land" opened at the Art and Ethnography Museum in Bacau.

Iliescu, Party Leaders Discuss Moldavia

AU2910205890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1934 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—As part of the permanent consultations with the representatives of the various political forces, President Ion Iliescu of Romania met on October 29 evening at Cotroceni Palace with leaders of political parties represented in the Parliament: Claudiu Iordache (National Salvation Front), Geza Domokos (the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania), Radu Campeanu (National Liberal Party), Corneliu Coposu (Christian Democratic National Peasant Party), Dolphi Driemer (Ecological Movement), Sergiu Cunescu (Social Democratic Party), Otto Weber (Romanian Ecological Party), Victor Surdu (Agrarian Democratic Party), Cornel Nica (Socialist Democratic Party) and Serghei Mesaros (Democratic National Party).

Present were also Senate President Alexandru Barladeanu, Dan Martian, Speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Petre Roman, prime minister, as well as Minister Vasile Secares, head of department to the Presidency.

The meeting was devoted to an exchange of views in connection with the recent events in the Republic of Moldova. It was stressed that beyond the differing political views of parties or political formations, that was a matter of national interest that required that the country's political forces agree on a unitary platform in approaching it.

Iliescu Statement on Tension

AU2910211990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu to unidentified radio correspondent after meeting with political party leaders in Bucharest on 29 October—recorded]

[Text] As I have already said, within the context of our contacts, we want to continue the practice of regular meetings with the representatives of various parties, not only on an individual basis, but also—as the case may be, when we are faced with a problem of mutual interest—with the representatives of several parties at once. At the current meeting, the main parties represented in the Parliament were present. The subject of this meeting was the latest developments in the Moldovan Republic and the state of tension created there, as well as the position of support and solidarity adopted by Romania's Parliament for the public and the leaders of the Moldovan Republic. All of us emphasized the common interest in doing everything possible to ensure an appropriate climate at home, in our country, and to grant political support to responsible Moldovan political forces striving to resolve their own internal problems in a peaceful framework, to the benefit of the population of that republic. This line also enjoyed the understanding of the Soviet central bodies. As far as we are concerned, we want to ensure an appropriate and positive framework for our overall relations with the Soviet Union and for the ties with the Moldovan Republic. In their turn, the political forces in our country also want to ensure a favorable climate for the political forces in the Moldovan Republic, so that they can resolve their own problems with their own forces.

Refugees' Union Supports Moldavia

AU3010120890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1013 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/10/1990—The Union of the Romanian Refugees from North-Western Transylvania (1940-1944) joins the Romanian nation against the illegal and non-constitutional actions of the Gagauz minority who is unfairly trying to divide the so much tortured Moldova between the Prut and the Dniester. We who have lived the difficult and painful years of the exile far from our ancestors' land, reads the message addressed to the Romanians between the Prut and the Dniester, are beside you in these days when you are asserting your determination not to allow a foreign power to establish within your republic's borders under the mask of local authority. The Union of the Romanian Refugees from North-Western Transylvania over 1940-1944 expresses its conviction that both the Soviet Union's Government and President Mikhail Gorbachev will act to eliminate the separatist tendencies of national minorities living among Moldovans who form the overwhelming majority.

Army General Dies During Visit to PRC

AU2910183290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1708 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—The Army's Superior Military Council has issued a communique announcing that Lieutenant General Marin Balteanu, a member of the military delegation on a visit to China, headed by Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, died of a heart attack in Beijing, on October 28.

Nastase Statement Upon Return From Bulgaria

AU3010134090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1258 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/10/1990—"In my opinion, it was a successful visit and the fact was understood that in cases when viewpoints differ a rational solution should be found. Such a rational solution was found at the end of intelligent talks and through a formula that no one may question," said Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase at the Otopeni Airport upon his arrival from Bulgaria, where he paid a two-day official friendly visit.

"We thought of resorting to an independent international expert survey to be conducted by the institution that boast the highest authority in this area. The idea is to impartially establish facts as they are and I think this can lessen the tension and the emotional reactions that ecological problems caused in the past few weeks. Once we eliminated those distortions, we could concentrate on a programmatic approach to palpable aspects of normal political contacts and the improvement of economic relations against the background of the changes in our two economies and the economic changes in the Balkans and in Europe in general.

"I should like to point out that throughout my visit I had highly constructive talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere," the minister also said.

Ambassador in Bucharest Explains Border Closure

AU2710191790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1657 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/10/1990—In connection with the temporary closing of the checkpoints between Hungary and Romania, the Hungarian ambassador to Bucharest, Erno Rudas, specified in an interview with the Romanian radio station on Saturday, October 27 that that measure had not been taken only at the Hungarian-Romanian border, but it was a general measure the Hungarian authorities had been forced to take because of the situation in that country following the strike of taxi drivers and of other vehicle drivers who had blocked the main roads of access into Hungary, as well as the bridges in Budapest and the thoroughfares in large towns. The traffic and the population's supply was

thus obstructed. In those conditions, the Hungarian ambassador emphasised, the customs officers at the checkpoints announced their counterparts both in Romania and in the other neighbouring countries not to allow access into Hungary until the settlement of that situation. Mentioning that the government had started negotiations with representatives of the protesters in Hungary and that hopes existed for soon results, Mr. Erno Rudas insisted upon the fact that that measure be not interpreted as "discriminatory for Romania" and asked for "understanding of the present situation in Hungary."

Reminding that after the Romanian December revolution Hungary had open frontiers and has never intended to introduce again visas, the ambassador concluded: "The Romanian citizens are welcome in Hungary but we ask for their understanding concerning the present situation in our country."

FDGR Issues, Claims of Deported People Noted

AU2710202690 Bucharest NEUER WEG in German 18 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "Forum Representatives' Meeting in Timisoara—Dr. Thomas Naegler Discusses Problems of the Germans in Romania; Parliament Deputy Professor Brandsch's Support for Those Who Were Deported to Russia"]

[Excerpts] Two meetings of representatives of the German forums took place in Timisoara last weekend. [passage omitted]

Of particular importance for future activity was the second meeting between representatives of the Banat Forum and local forums of that area with Dr. Thomas Naegler, president of the Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania [FDGR]; Professor Ingmar Brandsch, FDGR deputy to the Deputies' Assembly; Professor Paul Philippi, Executive Board member of the Sibiu German Forum, as well as with Hannelore Baier, FDGR manager. [passage omitted]

Dr. Thomas Naegler spoke at length about his recent talks in the FRG with German Government representatives on present and future assistance. [passage omitted]

The FDGR president also spoke about the situation in our country linked to the current position of the Germans in Romania. The setting up of a Forum of Germans in Romania with all its local structures proved not only necessary but also positive. [passage omitted]

Dr. Naegler also discussed at length the possibility of organizing an efficient and appropriate printing office in Sibiu—preparations for which are already under way—which could be used for all publications in German throughout the country. [passage omitted]

Dr. Naegler informed those present that a Forum of Germans in Bukovina has recently been established, thus closing the "circle of forums of all Germans in Romania."

Parliament Deputy Ingmar Brandsch spoke about his activity in Parliament. He emphasized that the government's plan to amend Law No. 118/1990, on the basis of which people who were deported to Russia would receive allowances in the form of pension benefits, would certainly be passed by the Parliament. He mentioned he would make efforts to ensure this. [passage omitted]

BBC Broadcast Termed 'Absolutely False'

AU2910215890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Statement by Constantin Ene, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to radio reporter Mircea Rucareanu, in Bucharest on 29 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Special Disarmament Commission of the Warsaw Pact concluded a meeting in Prague on limiting conventional weapons. In connection with the meeting's proceedings and with a false news item broadcast by the BBC regarding Romania's position in the commission, we turned to Mr. Constantin Ene, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who led our country's delegation in Prague. Here is reporter Mircea Rucareanu.

[Rucareanu] Mr. State Secretary, a few days ago you participated in the proceedings of the Special Disarmament Commission of the Warsaw Pact. A few words, please, on these proceedings.

[Ene] I returned home from the proceedings of the Warsaw Pact Special Disarmament Commission last Saturday [27 October] night. The latest session of this commission examined—and I would like to mention with satisfaction that it also resolved—a number of issues which will make the subject of an agreement between the member states on the distribution among themselves of the so-called collective ceiling of armaments, which will be established after the Vienna negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Rucareanu] Mr. State Secretary, let us turn to another problem. The BBC has recently broadcast a news item claiming that the session proceedings lasted longer because of the position adopted by our country, which allegedly refused to agree to arms cuts. [words indistinct] What is your position and the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this matter.

[Ene] It is superfluous for me to add that this piece of news comes not only as a surprise, but it is also false, absolutely false, from beginning to end. This is more than a mere distortion, it is a lie and a disinformation, which, I have to note with regret, this station has broadcast. First, as I have already said, the proceedings did not last longer than planned, but rather they ended

on time; moreover, they ended with results, to the extent that an agreement was reached. Second, as far as Romania's position is concerned, I would like to categorically state that our country had no differences whatsoever with the other countries. On the contrary, it has consistently played a constructive role in reaching an agreement at this session. Romania has also shown a spirit of initiative in the attempts to find solutions to various problems, something which was valued by all delegations.

I also heard of that BBC broadcast, which amounts to a total distortion of truth. This is all the more regrettable, as it is a repetition of a stand adopted by this British agency in connection with Romania, something which cannot enhance the prestige of that station. I would go so far as to say that it might have the opposite effect. As far as I am concerned, in connection with this totally incorrect reporting on Romania's position [words indistinct], I intend to suggest that the government issue a protest—the second official protest—to this agency. We hope that those in charge of the broadcast of such news items will finally realize that such practices can only incite spirits and create a lack of trust among states, something which is totally opposed to the kind of climate we all want to establish in Europe.

TAROM Airlines Inaugurates New Route to U.S.

AU2810181090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1514 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/10/1990—Timisoara city inaugurates today, October 28 a weekly flight to New York by the Romanian TAROM Airlines. It is about a new line Bucharest-Timisoara-New York served by Boeing 707 planes, with two-way flights every Sunday.

Iliescu, Roman Greet Turkish Counterparts

AU2910112890 Bucahrest ROMPRES in English 0724 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/10/1990—President Ion Iliescu addressed a congratulatory telegram to President Turgut Ozal, on Turkey's national day, expressing his conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Turkey will acquire new dimensions.

On the same occasion Prime Minister Petre Roman congratulated Mr. Yildirim Akbulut, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, and Adrian Nastase, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, congratulated his counterpart Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin.

Iliescu Receives Australian Businessmen

AU2910193290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1709 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—The Australian company "Pilbora Port Railroad and Resources" is ready to update the port of Constanta, so that it may not only handle Romania's commercial exchanges but also serve the Danubian countries through the use of the Danube-Black Sea Canal. The proposal was extended to President Ion Iliescu by the manager of the firm, Lang G. Ancock, who was received on Monday morning together with a delegation of the company, by the Romanian president. The firm offers a survey in this sense, the necessary equipment and installations for the port, its management and the operation of the port activities for a long term, all while financing the whole project.

President Iliescu received the proposal with interest, stressing that the economic decision as to the contracts was to be made by the relevant economic agents.

UNDP To Help Transition to Market Economy

AU2910193390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1712 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—Monday, 29 October, the Romanian Government through its National Agency for Privatisation, represented by Mr. Petre Terzi, secretary of state, and UNDP [United Nations Development Program] through its permanent representative in Romania, in the person of Mr. Ottorino Jannone, signed a protocol stipulating, among other things, the setting up in Bucharest of a consulting and services centre for furnishing free expertise to private Romanian enterprisers. The action echoes the Romanian Government and the National Privatisation Agency's endeavours to ensure the necessary facilities for the development of a sector of prime importance in the transition to a free market economy.

Attending the ceremony were Foreign Affairs Secretary of State Constantin Ene, counselors and experts in privatisation procedures.

"The new project provides the methodology through which we are going to help Romania overcome the difficulties likely to arise in the shift to a free market economy," stated Mr. Ottorino Jannone in his address at the signing ceremony.

"Two are the actions we think of foremost importance: help the Romanian Government negotiate the real privatisation of part of the Romanian economy and establish in Romania a centre for the training of managers suitable to the new economic structure your government intends to implement as soon as possible. "This project," said the guest, "roused a special interest since it was compiled and signed in a matter of months as against previous cases. We tried to make it as practical as possible in its three main tasks: to provide free, comprehensive assistance to all who wish to start a business; to conduct surveys of the Romanian market identifying products of which it is short and that could be manufactured locally; to act as a link between young private entrepreneurs and the government, detect the difficulties they both encounter and refer them to the authorities apt to amend laws passed prior to this. Our assistance will practically consist in: a transfer of technology that is

foreign consultants will share their experience in privatization with Romanian counterparts, Romanian engineers and counselors involved in the project will be provided with up-to-date information in practice-orientated specialisation courses abroad and basic equipment apt to render the team in charge of the project efficient.

Senate Proceedings Resume 29 Oct

AU2910205790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1938 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—The Senate resumed its plenary session on Monday, October 29. Before entering the agenda proper, a few of senators asked the government, certain ministries, a number of questions.

Referring to the situation in Soviet Moldova, Galati Senator Leonard Fintescu asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the government, the prime-minister himself to specify his stand vis-a-vis the events that have taken place in that country of late.

Considering that prices will be liberalised starting November 1, Senator Stelian Morcovescu called the government to urgently read before the Senate the list of the new prices of goods and services and the reasons for essential rises, the date when the new prices would become effective, compensations quotas.

Other questions referred to the status of the policeman, the celibacy tax, the medicine supply, the subject matters selected for this year's school-leaving examination.

Deputies' Assembly Meets; Debates Amendment Law

AU2910212790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—Monday, October 29, the works of the present session of the Assembly of Deputies were resumed in Bucharest. After this week's agenda was approved, the Assembly of Deputies debated and adopted the law for amending and completing a number of dispositions of the Criminal Code.

This important normative act is meant first of all to guarantee the freedom of the individual. The person detained or under arrest, in the cases and under the conditions provided for by the law, will be treated in respect for the human being the dignity, torture or other savage or debasing punishments being sanctioned by the law. Among the modifications proposed by the new law we should mention the possibility for the accused or defendant held in custody to be temporarily set free. The bill also contains provisions referring to guaranteeing the defence right, new regulations on prolonging preventive arrest, which is incumbent only on the court of law and only for a limited period of time, and provisions on the procedure and the bodies competent to solve the application for temporary release on bail.

Examines Draft Bills

AU3010153090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1432 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/10/1990—On Tuesday, the Assembly of Deputies held its proceedings by standing commissions which examined several normative acts to be submitted for the approval of the plenum of the chamber in the days to follow. The talks centered on the bills in this week's agenda on the organization and operation of the government and of ministries and on the reduction on the increase percentage on failure to perform services on time. The commissions were also notified of the land bill, the draft law on the resolution of collective work conflicts, the bill on finances and other important normative acts intended to create the legal framework for the smooth run of the market economy, the deepening of the process of democratizing the Romanian society and the resolution of a number of questions of a social nature.

PSDR Rejects Possible Merger With FSN

AU2710191990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The Romanian Social Democratic Party has sent the following statement to ROMPRES:

The tendency of the National Salvation Front [FSN] to turn into a social democratic formation—with the possibility of a merger or alliance with the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR]—is more and more obvious lately. Given all these direct or indirect attempts, we want to make the following statement: The PSDR firmly rejects any attempt—wherever it comes from—to make it renounce its identity established on the basis of its name, its tradition, programs, and adherence to the Socialist International. It will preserve its position of complete independence and leftist-center leaning, which has been confirmed in the political and social life of Romania.

We clearly affirm that what happened in 1946 when, through a group of traitors, part of the organization and members of the Social Democratic Party were swallowed by the communists, will not be repeated. We are familiar with history and do not forget its lessons. We also reject all attempts to split this party, including relations between this party and its president, Mr. Sergiu Cunescu.

We firmly advocate cooperation with all political democratic forces working to ensure in our country a state of law based on respect for basic human rights, on economic and political freedom, and on genuine democracy.

The statement is signed by the Steering Committee of the PSDR.

Peasant Party Leader on Policies, Secret Service

AU2810155490 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Oct 90 p 4

[Interview with Lup Ioan, secretary general of the National Peasants Christian Democratic Party, by Detlef W. Stein; place and date not given: "Romanian Opposition Is Looking for Platform"]

[Text] [Stein] The National Peasants Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] officially claims that they have approximately 800,000 members; however, they only gained 2.5 percent of the votes in the elections. These two figures do not really fit. Which one is correct?

[Ioan] We do not have just 800,000 members—200,000 of which are in Bucharest alone—but far more sympathizers among the populace. The elections were clearly manipulated by the National Salvation Front [FSN].

[Stein] What traditions does your party have in Romania?

[Ioan] We are an old party which was founded more than 100 years ago. The communists prohibited it in 1946, and we were only able to reestablish it in Bucharest last year, after Ceausescu's overthrow. During the many decades of suppression, I, like many other party members, was illegally active. From 1946 to 1989, approximately 250,000 Christian Democrats were imprisoned for their political convictions. Some churches in the capital partly protected us from the secret service, and we also met in private apartments.

[Stein] What is your party's program?

[Ioan] The country must finally be democratized in all fields. The peasants must get private property for cultivation and modern technology. Some days ago, I had a talk with a member of the EC commission on help for our agriculture. He intimated to me that further EC support depends on democratic development in our country, but we need the machines at once and not at some indefinite time. Romania's economic situation is very difficult, and tens of thousands of people are already affected by unemployment. We believe that private initiative must be strengthened to ensure the profitability of the enterprises. By the way, the neocommunist FSN adopted our ideas in its own economic programs and is now propagating them as its own program.

[Stein] What are your party's objectives in the next few months?

[Ioan] We are planning a party congress in October where we want to submit proposals for the unification of the opposition parties. I am thinking of a parent organization of the Romanian opposition which will form a platform for the opposition parties and movements. You may understand how important this coordination is when I tell you that there are more than 90 parties in our country, not all of which belong, of course, to the opposition, and some of which exist only on paper. Such cooperation would also have a positive effect on parliamentary work and our policy would become more significant. Another important point in the next few weeks is the development of a new constitution, so that Romania can catch up with Europe.

[Stein] The "Securitate" secret service, which was instrumental in the people's suppression for many decades, was dissolved by a parliamentary resolution in January. Can the country now breathe freely?

[Ioan] The "Securitate" was dissolved, but two other security services were created. They are called the "Romanian Information Service" and the "Romanian Police Service." I have to say that only the names of some individuals in these surveillance apparatuses were exchanged. The new security services are still spying on opposition politicians and critics of the neocommunist regime and they keep them under observation. Many secret service members supported the miners' violent actions in June. They destroyed the entire interior furnishings of our party house and all the technical equipment. Moreover, our documents and archives were destroyed. We believe that half of these "miners" were secret service men. Many people here are afraid of this new/old "Securitate."

PNT-cd Conferences Improve Political Activity

AU2810220090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 19 Oct 90 p 1

["E.M."-signed article: "Annual Conferences of the National Peasants Christian Democratic Party"]

[Text] Nine months after its reappearance on the Romanian political stage, the National Peasants Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] is examining the situation and taking an inventory within its local organizations. Actually, the first annual conferences are just being held—a profoundly democratic and necessary practice, which is characteristic—in the same form—of all big parties of the traditional European democracies.

Being completely new in our political activity, these annual conferences of the PNT-cd certainly offer—through their dynamic activity, their vivid dialogue, and their constructive confrontation within the framework of a broadly democratic ideology—insights into the organizational and reorganizational capability of this party and especially a genuine model of joint and concerted efforts aimed at constantly and effectively adjusting to our country's social and economic situation.

Already initiated in September, the annual county PNT-cd conferences constitute a real event in our party's activity and for its members, not only because they are the first ones of this kind in 43 years since the installment of the totalitarian communist regime in Romania and the interdiction of democratic political formations, but also because they contribute to strengthening the self-assurance of local PNT-cd organizations. It is also

important that through these annual meetings the people will get used to, will learn how to promote a democratic policy, and will understand democratic political activity. Similarly, these annual conferences mark a change in the PNT-cd—where necessary, of course—while the time that elapsed since last January undoubtedly contributes to sorting out capabilities and to the affirmation of young members, who are logically in the forefront of numerous county organizations right now.

The immediate and long-term effects of these first annual conferences not only concern simple organizational aspects, but also qualitative aspects linked—as I have emphasized—to promoting new competent people, to improving political activity at the local level of the PNT-cd, and are primarily linked to publicizing the objectives and programs of this democratic opposition party with great merits in the history of our country. Within the context of these annual PNT-cd conferences, the desire of its members and sympathizers is affirmed to contribute—immediately and decisively—to the country's decollectivization, to removing communist structures, the nomenklatura, and communist mentalities, and to placing Romania among the ranks of European democracies where its place has always been. We believe that the time has come to emphasize that the PNT-cd is experienced in this process of the country's Europeanization; the year 1918 and the years of its rule in the period between the wars are relevant in this respect. An example of this is the activity of Nicolae Titulescu, a prominent member of the National Peasants Party and one of the exceptionally prestigious architects of Romania in the world in the period between the wars.

Naturally, these annual conferences also play a role in preparing the national PNT-cd forum—the congress.

Antitotalitarian Forum Ends Convention in Cluj

AU2910205690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1941 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—The convention of the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum of Romania came to an end in Cluj. The convention declares that under the current circumstances it deems necessary the working out of a draft constitution by the Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum, the opposition to the government's proposal that the latter should be given by the Parliament the right to endorse decrees with power of law, and demands the Parliament to officially brand communism and, in this framework, to endorse item 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation as a criterium of selecting executives, to reorganize justice and prosecutor's bodies and dismiss the disreputed persons. The Prosecutor's Office of Romania is demanded to complete without delay all investigations on the events of December 1989, January 12, January 28-29 in Bucharest, February 18 in Bucharest, March 19-20 in Tirgu Mures, April 22-24 in Bucharest, June 13-15 in Bucharest, July 13 at Sapinta and order the suing in court of law of all culprits. It also demands that the Romanian intelligence department be put under parliamentary control. The convention sustains "the drawing up of the technicalities stipulated in Article 83 of the voting law for the dismissal of Mr. Ion Iliescu from the office of president of Romania." The continuation of the process of democratization of the Army is supported. The securing of real and effective freedom of the press and of the other media and the urgent setting up of at least one station of free television are also requested. The request of the Democratic Front of Moldova for the maintenance of the Republic of Moldova's territorial integrity is sustained.

Magureanu on Aim of Information Service

AU2810205890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] In an interview granted to Romanian Television this evening, Mr. Virgil Magureanu, chief of the Romanian Information Service, said that the aim of the institution he is leading is to guarantee that state secrets are preserved and the leakage of information—belonging to the category of state secrets—is stopped, and to struggle for a democratic and balanced social atmosphere.

Mr. Virgil Magureanu said that, from the day it was set up, the Romanian Information Service—based on its statute—has claimed to be based on the traditional institutions of interbella Romania and on the democratic provisions of the 1923 Constitution. The speaker emphasized that the great tasks the Romanian Information Service proposes to achieve cannot be fulfilled on its own. This institution has its natural position among other basic institutions of our state, together with which it will be able to guarantee the protection of the social atmosphere in our country. These other institutions are the Ministry of Interior, the Army, and all the other institutions which ensure social justice in our society.

From the time it was set up, Mr. Magureanu said, this information service was under the supervision of a parliamentary commission. Laws on the operation of the respective body and on national security are to be submitted to the Parliament, so that the Romanian Information Service will thus identify itself to our country's legislative body. This parliamentary control, Mr. Virgil Magureanu emphasized, has to become a basic rule of the activity carried out by this institution, although—from a functional viewpoint—this service is under the jurisdiction of the presidential institution from an administrative viewpoint.

Government Reshuffle: Dismissals, Appointments

AU3010092990 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 18-19 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Topical Political Event: First Government Reshuffling"]

[Text] On the basis of the analysis made by the Government Executive Bureau at the 17 October 1990 meeting on the current stage of transition to a market economy, dismantling the supercentralized economic structures, and accelerating the pace of economic reform, a decision of the prime minister of the government confirms the following dismissals and appointments:

A. Dismissals: Anton Antoniu, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Ion Moldovan, state secretary and chief of Animal Raising Department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Costica Leu, state secretary, chief of Mechanization Department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Vintila Rotaru, state secretary and chief of Food Department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Dumitru Antonescu, state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Mihai Arghir, state secretary and chief of the Department for State Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Victor Murea, state secretary and chief of Oil Department in Ministry of Resources and Industry; Ioan Rimbu, state secretary and chief of Timber Department in Ministry of Resources and Industry; Nicolae Vacaroiu, state secretary and chief of Price Department in Ministry of Finance; Alexandru Dobre, state secretary and chief of Transportation Department in the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, and Territorial Planing; Hans Otto Stark, state secretary and chief of Department for Pre-University Instruction in the Ministry of Education and Science; Emil Spirea, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, and Territorial Planning; Alexandru Plaviciosu, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, and Territorial Planning; Sever Georgescu, general secretary to the Government; Ion Columbeanu, deputy general secretary to the government; and Costica Badescu, director of the Directorate for Local State Administration.

B. Appointments: Sorin Cristea, state secretary at the Ministry of Education and Science; Misu Negritoiu, state secretary at the Romanian Agency for Promoting Investments and Foreign Economic Assistance; Ioan Busu, state secretary of the Department for State Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Petre Placinta, state secretary of the Food Department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Valentin-Gabriel Mirescu, under secretary of state at the Transportation Department in the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, and Territorial Planning; Traian Basescu, under secretary of state at the Transportation Department in the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, and Territorial Planning; Nikolaus Kleininger, under secretary of state at the Department for Pre-University Instruction in the Ministry of Education and Science; Marian Nitu, under secretary of state at the Department for the Privatization of Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry; Mircea Cosea, general director and under secretary of state at the National Commission for Forecasts, Plan, and Economic Situation; Nicolae Olteanu, general secretary to the government.

Counselors to the minister of state in charge of industrial and trade activities were also relieved of their positions.

These dismissals are linked to the dismantlement of three departments in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the Ministry of Resources and Industry.

The government requests that county prefects and the general mayor of Bucharest adopt similar urgent measures to remove all people who are unable—no matter the reasons—to get involved in the activity of rapidly implementing the reform program and of simplifying organizational structures.

* Cornea Views Human Rights, Pluralism

91BA0018B Bucharest 22 in Romanian 28 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Doina Cornea by Gabriela Adamesteanu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Adamesteanu] The meeting of the Council of Europe was opened by Mme. Catherine Lalumiere and addressed by important personalities (Mario Soares, B. Geremek). You were scheduled to read a prepared text in one of the working groups (Human Rights), but unexpectedly you were invited to speak on the very first day. Applause is not customary in that forum, but you were applauded when you finished speaking.

[Cornea] I think my tone made an impression, because it was direct and sincere. I spoke for 15-20 minutes. I said that any state of law must rest on respect for its own citizens and for their dignity. Under Ceausescu, too, I tried to explain (at a time when I thought I could persuade him) that the rulers themselves should be the first to be interested in people's freedom, because a person who is not free does not own his actions, which means he is not responsible. Under communism, the state or the institution always assumed the responsibility for everything. A free person is accountable for his acts; he assumes the responsibility devolving from his own freedom, while being able to be truly creative at the same time. Thus, a government should be directly interested in protecting the freedom of the citizens, because only then will they be responsible and creative. One of the reasons that our economy ceased to function (aside from centralism and other causes) was the fact that people stopped being creative and showing initiative; they lost the sense of responsibility even for their insignificant work in the social context. By protecting the citizens' freedom, the government can ensure and promote moral, political, and creative values.

I then drew a comparison with other countries and demonstrated that if they are much farther along the path of democratization, that is because in the past few years they had a greater margin of freedom that allowed

them to create social, civil, and political structures—be they even incipient—as a point of departure. Another factor was that in those countries the communist party, having had a real tradition after World War I, had better trained and more valuable cadres, while our communist party had only a few hundred members, probably dedicated, but far less well prepared. That is why the party itself fell prey to manipulation by the successive powers that ruled in our country and to foreign influence, like stalinism. There was stalinism in the other countries, too, but theirs was gradually relinquished.

Then I went on to our revolution, after first defining the terms; I stated that to me, what the youth and the masses who came out into the streets, under the bullets, did was a rebellion (not a revolution, and listed the cities in which that happened: Timisoara, Cluj, Bucharest, Brasov, Sibiu, Oradea, Arad, and the others). The people came out spontaneously; that was an anticommunist and, of course, anti-Ceausescu rebellion. Except that those who rebelled spontaneously had no structure to fall back on after the liberation. Instead, they found themselves faced by an already prepared power that was a continuation of the power represented by the former communists, whose quarrel with Ceausescu was for the power, not for any ideological intention to overthrow the system. This new power began to take shape long before the spontaneous demonstrations, and we have evidence along that line (Militaru and Brucan dropped hints, even though they weren't explicit). They were ready to seize the power and had the support of at least part of the securitate, the nomenklatura, and the prosecutor's office, at the very time when the others (who in fact toppled the Ceausescu regime) were giving their lives in the streets. They didn't go out into the streets; all they did was get ready. It was an uneven struggle, because after 22 December they had at their disposal not only the party structure, but the former structures of the communist power. Moreover, they dubbed themselves the "emanation" of the revolution, thus claiming as their own what thousands of others had achieved. On the first day they issued a proclamation on television that seemed to reflect a democratic spirit; it spoke of pluralism, private property, and human rights, but what struck us is that three days later restrictive amendments were issued (about private property, I think). And since then they have done nothing but renege on their promises. They promised to be a provisional power and to disband after the elections, but they ran in the elections. They promised to guarantee pluralism, but the electoral contest was very uneven, because they had their structures within enterprises and councils since January already. Those councils circulated the idea that privatization meant unemployment; that cooperation with the West was tantamount to selling the country to foreigners, which spread a kind of xenophobia among the workers. At the time, Mr. Iliescu was paying working visits to enterprises, but when the other parties wanted to establish contacts with the workers at enterprise clubs, they were told (in Cluj, at least, I know that for a fact), as per telephone instructions from Bucharest: "There will be no political campaigning in enterprises." So the parties had no contacts with the workers; they could not get to the villages either, being stopped by bands of bullies. The circulation of the free press and the newspapers of the opposition parties was disrupted and newsprint distribution was used as a means to discriminate against them, while the television showed what was important at midnight or in one-minute clips (two minutes for a demonstration, or speakers shown without sound track). In this manner they had all the means to take over and consolidate the power, to frustrate the activities of the opposition parties and groups, and to thwart the establishment of a civil society. The free trade unions also encountered difficulties in their organization, but the ones that suffered most were the political parties; alone the National Peasant Party had 30 offices ransacked and their equipment destroyed. Public opinion was manipulated throughout.

Then the slander campaign began—against me it had started in January—and the sad thing about it is that genuine moral assassination was perpetrated against cultural personalities that the country needed to shape and maintain our spiritual life. Such abuses served to discredit not individuals, but the Romanian culture itself, something that even Ceausescu didn't manage to do. Ceausescu forbade writers to publish, and that had the precisely opposite effect: It focused attention and sympathy on them. This, however, was moral assassination; they used lies and slander to create division among social, professional, age, natiolnality, and religious categories, while under Ceausescu the people were divided in only two camps: the minority that represented the power, and the broad mass of citizens that suffered together, in solidarity. But not only lies, also repeated counterdemonstrations (which are also a form of lies) that became violent, like in Tirgu Mures, not to mention the brutal commandoes that went into action on 13-15 June.

I asked the International Watch Committee to apply to the Investigations Commission to investigate the crosses of the unidentified bodies lying in the Straulesti cemetery, because Romania periodically abandons all notion of legality and becomes a regime of terror rather than a state of law. Nevertheless, I wanted to end on a hopeful note, so I said it was my impression that the opposition was swelling and was endeavoring to organize, that it was still being hampered, but it was increasing in numbers, and all that was lacking was a more efficient structure. We still need time to achieve opposition structures. That is why I once again appealed to the European Council to support the process of democratization of the Romanian people by not offering political aid to the ruling power except conditionally, after the Romanian government has proven that it is implementing the universal principles of democracy: the right to public information (free press and television); that pluralism is working (in other words, that the parties are left in peace to organize and to be active); that the legislation is based on democratic principles, and generally proofs that the civil society can

structure itself and operate normally. I requested that the Romanian people be helped in the areas of education, culture, a civil society, legislation, and press. And I also stressed the democratic youth organizations, so that the young people, who gave us our freedom, should not be forgotten.

Timisoara Trial Resumes 29 Oct; Witnesses Heard

AU2910193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1990—The public trial of the 25 standing charges of genocide, abetting and participating in the bloody repression of December 16-22, 1989 continued in Timisoara on October 29. Almost 500 eye witnesses and claimants were heard in this trial that started on March 2 for the singling out of the authors of the murders committed on those days and the finding out of the truth. In Monday's hearings, one of the witnesses wounded during the revolution stated he recognized, just like other wounded, defendant Viorel Bucur, former militia officer, to be the one that fired from an "Aro" car on December 17 in the Liberty Square.

Curticeanu Heard 30 Oct

AU3010120090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1013 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/10/1990—Today, the Bucharest Military Tribunal is hearing Defendant Curticeanu Silviu as part of the trial of the former members of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [PCR] Central Committee charged with genocide.

The court is holding against the defendant that he expressly gave his consent with firearms being used to repress the revolution during the December 17 and 22, 1989 Politburo meetings.

The indictment quotes the defendant's words, according to the transcript of the December 17 meeting, which supported Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu in everything they said. During the penal investigations the defendant denied having pronounced those words, admitting only to have tacitly agreed with the measures proposed by Ceausescu, as well as all the other Politburo members. According to the indictment, the defendant was among the most insistent at the meeting in persuading Ceausescu to give up his intention to resign from his function as secretary general of the party.

As for the December 22 meeting, the transcript and the statements made by some of the accused plainly show that the defendant said the demonstrators should be fought against.

According to other evidence in the file, the defendant called Nicolae Constantin, Miu Dobrescu, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Pana, and Radu Constantin to his office and ordered them to travel to several counties to get local help in preventing the Timisoara events from spreading.

Silviu Curticeanu, 57, a lawyer, was secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and head of the Chancellory, and one of Ceausescu's closest collaborators.

We'll supply further details regarding the court proceedings and the contents of the defendant's statement in court.

* Journalists Draft Charter on Freedom of Press

91BA0002A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

["Charter on Freedom of the Press" drafted by the Association of Romanian Journalists and the Union of Professional Journalists of Romania and submitted to the president, government, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies]

[Text]

Article 1

The Romanian state recognizes the fundamental right of its citizens, the free members of a free society, to be correctly and fully informed in every area of interest to them. The free flow of information will be recognized and encouraged as a basic human right and as an essential condition for social progress.

Article 2

The free flow of information is indissolubly linked to the free flow of opinions. By asserting this principle, the Romanian state guarantees every person's right to express his views in any language and through any means, both as a consequence of the freedom of conscience and as a condition for the free flow of information.

Article 3

The press is the major social means of ensuring the free flow of information and opinions. The Romanian state will guarantee and ensure the freedom of the press. Any legislative, legal, or administrative attempt against the freedom of the press will be viewed as an attack on the basic human rights.

Article 4

The press will ensure the free flow of information and opinions without restrictions. Reports must be correct.

Article 5

Without restrictions means that the right to a free flow of information is limited only by the assertion of the other basic human rights. Basic rights are protected by specific

legal measures, for whose implementation and observance are responsible those interested. The Romanian state views as unacceptable the adoption of general measures designed to restrict the freedom of the press or of other means of dissemination of information and opinions.

Article 6

Individual persons or organizations that violate other basic human rights through the press will incur penal, civil, administrative, or disciplinary punishment, according to case, for and according to the extent of the proven violation of legal norms, not for having capitalized on the freedom of the press.

Article 7

The specific power of dissemination of the press justifies the differences among the protective legislation concerning the other basic human rights, in cases in which such rights are violated by the dissemination of false information.

Article 8

The ethical behavior of press employees will be ensured by the professional organizations of journalists. The latter are entitled to establish professional and working standards that will be made public, as means of guaranteeing the quality of the press. Assuming that the professional and working criteria of journalism promoted by any of the professional organizations are comparable to other professions, the state will recognize for journalists rights at least equal to members of comparable professions.

Article 9

The social importance of the press implies recognition of the social importance of the journalistic profession.

Article 10

The Romanian state will ensure special regulations to protect the exercise of the journalistic profession against attacks, according to the rights devolving from this profession in view of its importance and inherent risks.

Article 11

The Romanian state will protect the people and the journalists against any monopoly on the circulation of information. Along this line, the existence of a private sector will be ensured in the press and in all the areas connected to it, and the right to draft and circulate information will be recognized, regardless of the form of ownership of the means of information.

Article 12

Any regulation concerning the law of the press must respect the principles laid down in the present Charter.

* State Subsidies to Enterprises Criticized

91BA0037A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 21, 22 Sep 90

[Interview with Finance Minister Theodor Stolojan by Emil Stanciu and Nicolae Iliescu; place and date not given]

[21 Sep pp 1, 5]

[Text] [TINERETUL LIBER] Minister, what are the main objectives of our "financiers" at present?

[Stolojan] First of all, we are very interested in keeping the state budget system working, because this is a mechanism that must be functioning daily and hourly whatever else may be happening in the country. We are therefore compelled to take very rapid measures, because we cannot afford to wait until something is decided or until some regulation is changed. In view of the problem of the state budget, which must work, we are forced to take measures on our own responsibility, and later create the legislation for them. For example, major economic ministries were dismantled simultaneously with the formation of the new legal government; the function of those ministries was to pass the plan tasks from the economic ministry on to the central, from the central to the enterprises, and vice-versa. Certain state budget revenues and expenditures—linked to investments, for example—hinged directly on this system of passing on the plan tasks. So, practically, once those economic ministries were dismantled, Romania's all-inclusive plan system was in a way also dismantled. Consequently, overnight we had to scrap our state budget system and introduce a new system concerning the financing and taxing of state enterprises. What will we do if tomorrow this plan system and plan tasks system disappears in Romania? How will we function with a budget that featured such restrictions on the plan and the plan tasks? We have to plan our systems three months in advance so that the budget can work without interruption.

The second issue is the economic reform we are preparing. The reform is operating, but it has to go in stages that cannot be skipped. For example: We had a very clear program on the draft bills and regulations scheduled to be presented to Parliament over a period of two years. In the meantime, however, a new element intervened in the form of the rapid implementation of measures aimed at economic reform. For example, a draft bill on taxing the profits of economic units and enterprises, regardless of their form of ownership, that we planned one-three years down the line, will be introduced in Parliament already this year, so that as of 1 January 1991 practically all the economic units, regardless who owns them, will be subject to the same tax regimen. Currently, the fiscal reponsibilities of the state economic units are greater than those of artisans' consummer cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives, and even private enterprises; in other words, the minimum tax rate for state enterprises is 54 percent, which is far

higher than the tax rates applied to the other economic enterprises. Why do the state enterprises pay at least 54 percent tax? Because our budget is loaded with expenditures. Any drop in state revenues must be paralleled by cuts in expenditures. Anything else you may hear on this matter from other quarters is either demagoguery or unadulterated incompetence. It is not natural to have so many subsidized enterprises and institutions as we do at present; it is not natural, for example, that all the theaters should be subsidized from the state budget, no one has such a thing anywhere in the world. Within one year we hope to restructure the financing policy concerning every budget expenditure, and to tailor our policy of revenues to the state budget accordingly. Also, like other developed countries, we will amend our tax figures every year in keeping with the changes made in state outlays for financing various expenditures.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Not unrelated to what you were saying, the problem of closing down a large number of unprofitable enterprises has been painfully raised in this period of transition in other countires, too, like East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and even Yugoslavia.

[Stolojan] The problem has been raised, but so far no one closed down any enterprise. But before we raise that problem we must solve many other issues, such as allowing the enterprises complete autonomy, also regarding prices. You cannot talk in terms of liquidation and bankruptcy about an enterprise whose product prices were fixed 'from above.' This, or course, immediately raises many other problems, because if the respective enterprise is the only one that manufactures a certain product, it will set its prices so as to also cover the fact that it works, let's say, only one day a week. Similarly, we must have a bankruptcy law. An enterprise cannot disappear overnight, there must be some procedure; there must be some authority to manage the assets of the enterprise during the liquidation period. And then, don't forget that in the United States, too, an aircraft plant was on the brink of bankruptcy, but the state intervened: The plant could not be allowed to go bankrupt because that would have caused too many problems. So the state helped it get back on its feet, naturally at the expense of the taxpayers. Evidently, without a bankruptcy machanism, our economy cannot recover. I repeat, however: We cannot take measures as if we were playing cards—you play the hand you're dealt, and you can win or lose. Here we have to prepare all the measures that will contribute to the emergence of this mechanism in Romania. You offered the example of Hungary or Poland; they have everything required—free prices, the bankruptcy mechanism, stock exchanges—but enterprises are still not going bankrupt. Why? Because bankruptcy is linked to social problems that are not always considered in terms of money and efficiency. After all, how does the bankruptcy procedure start? People who are owed money by certain enterprises find out that the money is not forthcoming. The revenue agency notes that the enterprise cannot pay its taxes and repay loans, and suppliers find that the enterprise is not paying them; in such a case, one of these three factors must act and trigger the onset of bankruptcy procedures. This is indeed a shock for an economy or an enterprise, namely having to deal with such a thing after 40 years in which no one had to worry about it. And you must know that the people, too, even though they are told that there will be unemployment relief to cover basic needs, do not accept the situation, so in order to carry it out one needs more than economic motivation.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Regarding bankruptcy and the aid granted to state enterprises, will private entrepreneurs enjoy the same treatment?

[Stolojan] You see, private enterprises must be profitable by definition. In our country the bankruptcy problem affects mainly state enterprises, many of which were opened without any economic logic or, even if they had an economic rationale, their development design made them uneconomical, and they must now be reorganized. Only if reorganization cannot help either, will we consider closing them down. As for private enterprises, their activities must be profitable by definition. In the United States, a lot of enterprises come into the market but not that many stay in it, because few can make it. If private enterprises were to run into difficulties because of let's say, some phenomenon not connected with the market, then the problem may be considered within a governmental and state framework.

[TINERETUL LIBER] You spoke earlier about subsidized enterprises and products; how do you explain the levying of custom duties on such products, too?

[Stolojan] Subsidized products are also subject to custom duties only because of the import restrictions and limitations, because our balance of payments situation does not allow us to expand such imports much. For the time being keep in mind the fact that this custom duty system applies only to private enterprises, because state enterprises are still working on the same budget regime of revenues and expenditures. Private enterprises calculate tax payments into their revenues and expenditures; practically speaking, as long as the leu is not convertible, the issue of custom duties is less relevant than in the developed countries. These duties are used especially in order to restrict imports of certain commodities; it will be one year before customs duties in Romania indeed play a role closer to the role they play in developed countries.

[TINERETUL LIBER] But custom duties are paid on exports, too, although the old tradition whereby exports always had the priority is still maintained.

[Stolojan] We generally don't levy them on exports, but, I repeat, certain custom duties can be applied only on private enterprises, when the respective commodities are in short supply in the domestic market, or when they require imported raw materials to manufacture, which imposes a hard currency effort on the country.

[22 Sep p 2]

[Text] [TINERETUL LIBER] In view of the fact that we already have mixed enterprises that work according to Decree No. 96 and entrepreneurs organized according to Decree No. 54, what can you tell us about their role and place at present and in the future from the viewpoint of the Finance Ministry?

[Stolojan] I cannot say that this is a new experience for us because in the past, too, we had enterprises and units of the consumer and artisans' cooperatives that functioned as autonomous agents from a fiscal viewpoint. Their financial regimen is the same, which is not a bother, on the contrary, they should pay higher taxes to be treated like the state units. However, they are subject to many restrictions concerning supplies and hard currency. Thus, as far as we are concerned, both the private and mixed enterprises opened in the area of foreign trade are economic agencies subject to fiscal regulations and contribute revenue to the state budget. But they also enjoy reduced taxes or even tax exemptions aimed at encouraging their activities. Here, however, we have a problem. This kind of enterprises were established and permitted to perform operations which in the past were the domain of state enterprises. For example, they can import and export, can purchase from state enterprises, and can sell to consumers. What is the problem that has emerged in this connection and is creating confusion? The respective enterprises were opened on the basis of private initiative, and those dealing in foreign trade emerged and are working in an area in which current prices and financing issues are not yet what they will be by the end of the transition period. In the case of state enterprises it was not that important whether a state revenue was cashed at the import stage from the respecitve foreign trade enterprise or from the retail unit that sold the imported commodities. The positive foreign trade price differences were deposited in a special account and used to make up for budget subsidies for raw materials (iron ore, coking coal, etc.). This system has not yet been changed; it is still linked to prices, custom duties, and so forth, and will not be changed for quite a few months yet. Consequently, what used to be a state right in the matter of taxes or trade surplus, is now fully in the hands of private enterprises. We had a famous case in which one entrepreneur took Romanian furniture and sold it in Hungary, where furniture is very expensive; in Hungary he bought soap and sprays and sold them here at a far higher price, because here they are in great demand. His so-called profit from this business was a few millions lei. This type of activity cannot be allowed to continue like this, because it is the outcome of the discrepancy between the price system, the custom duty system, the accounting system of the national currency in relation to other currencies, in other words, of a long string of dysfunctions that have emerged in all those systems, but that we are gradually eliminating—so far through provisional measures until such a time as we have custom tariffs and a new bill on commodities sales. Thus, many may have been surprised to see us come out with a regulation, a government decision (that we were fully entitled to issue as one of the responsibilities of the Finance Ministry) calling for a sales tax.

[TINERETUL LIBER] The purpose of fiscal policy is to encourage or inhibit certain activities or tendencies. In this light, what connotation should we attribute to the decision on the sales tax? What Western countries practice a similar system? Will the consumer be hurt by this decision?

[Stolojan] We introduced this tax on goods sales as a provisional measure, but provisional not in the sense that it doesn't have to be paid or that after a certain period of time the tax on goods sales will be lifted. In this particular case provisional means that in one year time we will draft a new bill on the tax on commodities sales, as well as a bill on the value added tax, which will affect both state and private enterprises equally. In this context provisional means that it is an emergency procedure until we come around to integrating this procedure in the overall policy. Taxes are paid on commodities sales and on products in all the developed countries, in the form of fixed taxes on certain products, like gasoline, or the so-called excise tax, taxes on alcoholic beverages, salt, etc. Some countries use the sales tax as a means of taxing business volume, others as a value added tax. So what did we need to do? In the face of the new phenomenon of substantial price differences in the buying-selling transactions of private enterprises, we were compelled to urgently introduce this sales tax on a series of products; this is a natural measure for any country. When we issued this legislation for private enterprises, what we had in mind was primarily the production, not buying-selling transactions aimed at deriving profits from buying low and selling high. At present we have a shortage of commodities. No one could have foreseen that instead of manufacturing commodities, most of the new firms will deal in buying and selling. And this is a good thing as long as it takes care of consumer requirements. However, we noted that the profits made are far too high, because of practices with which you are familiar, so we had to intervene with this sales tax, as well as other measures that were not initiated by the Finance Ministry, but by the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, and were aimed at curbing profiteering.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Will the consumer gain or lose by this sales tax?

[Stolojan] The consumer has the option of buying or not buying the respective products, especially in the case of private enterprises. It is his decision. Because there is a difference between buying drinks, alcohol, whiskey, and buying meat, bread, milk, oil, or sugar.

[TINERETUL LIBER] The consumer had a choice before the sales tax was introduced, too. Does he stand to gain by this tax or not?

[Stolojan] There should be no gain or loss involved for the consumer because if a private business sold him a package of Kents for 100 lei, he is not the one who pays the tax. So, instead of pocketing a profit of 80 lei on a

package of Kent, or whatever the profit may be, it now has to relinquish 20-50 percent to the state. However, if the seller decides to raise the price of cigarettes, then of course, it becomes the buyer's problem, too.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Having private enterprises pay income tax in advance—is that something legal, or is it a matter of personal interpretation by internal revenue inspectors?

[Stolojan] Every fiscal system has some means of ensuring regular revenues. Budget expenditures are also paid out regularly. Even if on the surface it seems that income tax should be paid at the end of the year, we have to ensure a regular basis for the state budget as much as possible. Thus, we do our accounts with a private enterprise at the end of the year, when it sends in its income tax statement, but we cannot wait for the end of the year before this enterprise pays its tax to the state budget, because its activities were stretched out throughout the year, so it will have to pay tax let's say, four times a year, every quarter, or according to its business volume.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Are you in favor of a rapid transition to a market economy, or do you think the transition should be slow?

[Stolojan] This is a difficult question; I was in favor of a controlled process. You must realize that the two years that Romania set itself for the process of transition is viewed in the world as an extremely short period of time. At the moment I have to say that I am among those who want the transition made as swiftly as possible. By that I mean everything, not only the parts dealing with social protection, because people are tempted to take only what is good about the market economy, but they have to take it all together, with both its good and bad aspects. What convinced me in the past few months to abandon the idea that the transition should be a controlled process and made me insist on speeding it up was a certain tendency to underestimate the impact of the December revolution on the labor relations existing in enterprises. Anyway, I don't know whether anyone in Romania has been able to precisely estimate the impact of labor relations in enterprises. These labor relations no longer function, not only in relation to a market economy, but in relation to any economy that requires natural correlations among production, productivity, salaries, payroll, etc. Since these correlations cannot function properly, and since in my opinion there is no hope that they will fall into place by any means other than the means of a market economy, we must achieve a market economy as quickly as possible. All the measures that are being taken in this respect are nothing but palliatives; only a market economy, through the force of its mechanisms, can restore the correlations in this essential area for the future of Romania's economy. No one in the world has ever been able to come up with a society that can endlessly dip into its pocket for investments, consumptions, and expenses without having the necessary revenues.

Iraqi Minister Expresses 'Surprise' Over Boycott

LD2910101390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0957 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—"We are very much surprised at the fact that Yugoslavia has joined the drive to starve and boycott the Iraqi people", Iraqi Minister of Culture and Information Latif Nusayyif Jasim said in an interview to the Yugoslav Jutel Television.

Minister Jasim said the surprise was all the greater as Yugoslavia was itself in an exceptionally difficult situation.

"We have oil which you might have had at very low price. Apart from which, Iraq owes Yugoslavia a lot of money. We have given compensation to many countries, while Yugoslavia has been given none", Jasim stressed.

The Iraqi minister expressed the hope that the Yugoslav side would soon send signals that things in mutual relations were changing for the better.

"We are waiting for the changes", Jasim said in conclusion.

Albanian Environmental Delegation Arrives

LD2910235790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Split, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Albanian Government delegation today arrived in the Yugoslav town of Split on a two-day working visit to the Center for Regional Activities, UNEP [United Nations Environmental Program]. The delegation said that Albania would accelerate its opening to the world, and pointed to the consequences of the opening and of economic development to the possibility of destroying the environment.

Stressing that Albania was very interested in the experiences of Mediterranean and European countries in environmental protection, the Albanian officials said that their country would not repeat the mistakes of others, but learn from them.

The Albanian delegation is headed by secretary of the Commission for Environmental Protection of the Council of Ministers Shaban Kamberi. The aim of the visit to Split, the UNEP headquarters in Yugoslavia, is to get acquainted with the experiences of Split and discuss cooperation possibilities.

Albania ratified the Barcelona convention on joining the Mediterranean action plan two months ago, and is now a full member of the association. The Albanian delegation said that their government wants to join the Adriatic initiative which now rallies Italy and Yugoslavia.

Slovenia To Open Representative Office in Vienna

LD2910221690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Vienna, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia will open a representative office in Vienna on November 6. The office will be headed by Karel Smolle, a Carinthian Slovene who is the Green Party's deputy in the federal parliament.

Janez Dular, the minister for the affairs of Slovenes living abroad, informed journalists about the opening of Slovenia's second representative office, in Vienna today. Slovenia opened the first such office in Washington recently.

According to Dular, the new office cannot have the status of a diplomatic mission but of a cultural-informative centre. Further steps will be possible when Slovenia establishes its sovereignty under the constitution.

The APA News Agency today carried a statement by an Austrian Foreign Ministry spokesman, who said that although Slovenia could open a representative office in Vienna, "Austria can have diplomatic relations only with Belgrade".

Markovic Meets Workers on Reform Obstructions

LD2710005190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic, the FEC Secretariat for Information Reports, today received a delegation of the Alliance of Independent Trade Unions of Yugoslavia.

The metal industry workers told the president of government that they were Yugoslav-oriented, supported the FEC's reform, and were dissatisfied with those processes in the country which blocked the implementation of the reform and the democratization of society.

Ante Markovic replied by saying that the price of obstructing the reform was an extremely high one and that is was going to be footed by all workers in the country as a whole. All those who are now obstructing the reform, Markovic added, bear a great deal of political responsibility for the country's future.

The trade union of metal industry workers were mostly interested in wages and signing collective contracts, lowering taxes in the economy, and increasing social aid to workers. Aware of the problems the government was facing, the trade union representatives asked Markovic whether the federal government could do anything to make the republics and provinces reduce their taxation squeeze on the economy. It was said that 99 percent of every dinar allocated to wages is swallowed up by various taxes.

Ante Markovic replies that one of the more significant battles for reform was being waged in general and social spending. Yugoslavia at its present level of development can sustain a 32-33 percent share of this spending in its social product, while now it has surged beyond the 40 percent mark. These monies do not, however, end up in the federation's budget, nor does the FEC have any powers to prevent the republican and municipal organs from taking away so much money from the economy.

The distribution of personal incomes has truly exploded. Although the limit on the amount of personal incomes to be paid out was set to the tune of about 24 billion dinars, in July 27.4 billion dinars were paid out; in August, 28.6; in September, 30.4; and in the first ten days of October over 11.4 billion dinars.

Ante Markovic said he received a suggestion from the trade unions whereby this organization would commit itself, through collective contracts, to respect planned proportions in the total amount of wages to be paid out, something he agreed to in principle. To solve this matter in the long run, though, it is necessary to carry out the transformation of ownership, initiated by the FEC, by stimulating distribution of employees' shares, although this is being opposed by the republican and province establishments in their desire to preserve social ownership or to turn it into state ownership.

There are even extreme attempts to misinform workers by telling them that they cannot receive their salaries because the FEC forces enterprises into converting personal incomes into shares. This is, of course, not true, because shares can only be bought with funds from the surplus if any. Not only are workers transformed into owners by buying shares, but, in this way, extra capital can be attracted into developing the enterprise.

There are, nevertheless, attempts to foil this in various ways, since local politicians do not favor workers-turned-owners because, in this way, they are dispossessed of their influence.

As for social policies, Markovic said, this was the first time that one of our governments envisaged that some of the budget funds be allocated to this end. It was demanded that sensible programs be drawn up for using these funds. This did not come about, so the government was compelled to distribute these funds evenly among the republics. The FEC plans to ask international financial institutions for credits to support next year's social programs. However, this credit will not be available unless precise plans for using these monies are drafted. Markovic suggested small enterprises, employing between 10 and 100 people, as an example of how to use funds collected in this way.

Finally, Ante Markovic warned his guests that these days attempts are being made to obstruct government's functions by failing to pay one's contributions to the federal budget. This was first done by Slovenia, then Croatia, and now Serbia. One separatism breeds another, and they fuel each other at the expense of all of you. You will foot this bill, as well as the country, on the whole, Markovic concluded.

Markovic Rejects Recall of Deputy Minister

LD2910154890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1123 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Demands for the recall of individual members of the Yugoslav Government can only be made through the prime minister, because the government has been formed at the proposal of the mandatory, said Prime Minister Ante Markovic in a brief statement for VREME, an independent private weekly which appeared on the bookstalls on Monday.

The statement is seen as rejecting a possibility of the recall Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic, recently demanded by parliament of the Republic of Serbia because of what was described as his work against the interests of the biggest Yugoslav republic.

In his statement to the new Yugoslav weekly, Prime Minister Markovic noted that the federal government would take all necessary measures, along with provisions to ensure their application, in order to prevent the implementation of the latest economic measures of the [word indistinct] authorities which announce the possibility of imposing protective duties on the imports from abroad and from other Yugoslav republics. These economic measures have been assessed as disrupting the single Yugoslav market.

"This situation confirms our assessment that all conflicts in the country cannot be resolved in a peaceful and democratic way without the adoption of constitutional amendments and the holding of multiparty elections in order to constitute the federal parliament," pointed out Markovic. He added that the federal government was continuing its programme of economic and social reforms in Yugoslavia.

Mesic Inauguration, 20 Oct Assembly Session Viewed

AU2910210990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Oct 90 p 1

[Janja Klasinc "Topic of the Day" commentary: "A Step Forward or Backward"]

[Text] Nobody in the Federal Assembly expected Stipe Mesic's inauguration yesterday, and the item on the agenda concerning the way out of the constitutional crisis, to conclude the way that they did, that is, peacefully, without major scandals, and in apparent harmony.

For some, this idea of harmony means salvation, but this is probably not the case for Yugoslavia. Harmony is something completely different from a situation in which the president and two members of the Presidency are absent from the inauguration of a new Presidency member and in which two other Presidency members are

absent while Dr. Jovic presents his speech "on behalf of the Presidency...." Disputes remain even when spirits calm down.

How was that calm possible yesterday following such a storm? It was probably because storm troopers and scenarists realized that impulsive politics no longer work and because those people following a more moderate course and those who think completely differently from Jovic's group had decided to wait. They want to wait for the time when all republics will hold elections and when Slovene and Croatian representatives have legal counterparts in all parts of the country. This has also been Markovic's idea from the very beginning, so this is probably why he also decided to remain silent.

It seems as if everybody was making a step backward: Jovic by reiterating the need for agreement that he was opposing only yesterday; the Serbian delegation by claiming that it was not "undermining" Mesic's inauguration; the Croats whose delegate Branko Skok congratulated the people of Belgrade for their liberation day; Markovic with his optimistic smile; and Mesic with an optimistic beginning of his new duty when he showed no desire for retaliation, either in his conduct or in statements to the press. Considering all unsettled questions, that very step backward may nevertheless be a small step forward!

New 'Independant' Weekly Published in Belgrade

LD2910153790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—A new independent weekly named "VREME" (Time) appeared at newsstands in Belgrade today.

Editor in Chief Zoran Jelicic said in an editorial in the first issue that VREME would support nothing save the truth.

The privately-funded weekly is intended to be shaped according to the highest professional standards and fight for a place for itself among the ranks of TIME, DER SPIEGEL, NEWSWEEK, THE ECONOMIST and other top international newsmagazines.

The editorial says that VREME was not created around a particular political platform but as a result of a desire to provide the Yugoslav printed media with their first fully objective newspaper.

"Facts are sacred, while commentaries are free," will be the slogan of the weekly, published in Belgrade, which will feature the work of many well-known Yugoslav journalists, mostly from Belgrade.

VREME's initial circulation is 80,000 and it will be marketed throughout Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav Workers' Party Congress Reelects Leader

LD2710231790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—The congress of the Yugoslav Worker's Party (PRJ) today decided that this party will take part in the forthcoming parliamentary and presidential elections in Serbia.

Milosav Jovanovic was again elected chairman of this party - unanimously and in a public vote. The main committee of the RPJ of 49 members was elected, and both the party program and statute were adopted.

The basic orientation of this party, as written in the statute, is "the political struggle against any authorities who work against the interests of the work force." The RPJ otherwise has about 5,000 members in several republics. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek Sees Serbian Measures as Destabilizing

LD2710092990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—The latest events in Serbia, in other words the measures of the Serbian Assembly, in factual terms mean in some way the confederalization of this republic. This was stressed in today's statement on current events across the country to Slovene Television by Janez Drnovsek, member of the Presidency.

With these measures, Drnovsek assessed, Serbia is in fact implementing what is written in its constitution, and this constitution is in essence a constitution of an independent state. Here it is interesting, Drnovsek believes, that these measures are being accompanied by very intensive attacks on the FEC [Federal Executive Council] and on Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

One is bound to assess, Drnovsek added, that this is an attempt to destabilize the federal organs, especially the federal government. One cannot avoid the impression that this is a matter of the acquisition of influence over federal institutions. Here, of course, a series of questions are raised as to what in fact is the meaning of these moves, when compared to the various assessments that it is only Slovenia which makes moves which destroy the federal system.

In connection with the conflict between the Yugoslav People's Army and Slovenia, Drnovsek said that over the past few days a series of activities and consultations have been conducted in Slovenia and the federal organs. My aim is that this conflict is calmed, in other words resolved, Drnovsek stated, assessing that it would be a negative thing if a further escalation were to occur in the present Yugoslav crisis.

In a lengthy statement Drnovsek also said that he sent a letter today to the federal Presidency, as well as to the

FEC president and also to the Federal Secretary for National Defense, in which he proposes a way of resolving the conflict between the republic of Slovenia and the federal organs—in matters relating to the question of national defense. Drnovsek, as he put it, proposed that Slovenia examined the possiblity of freezing the implementation of some of the measures adopted by the republican Assembly, for example on recruits. He proposes that wide-ranging talks begin at the same time between representatives of Slovenia and the federation on these wide-ranging issues, and also on how the Yugoslav People's Army should be organized in a confederal system.

Drnovsek also proposed that all activities of the federal organs on the realisation of some conclusions, such as the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency in connection with the establishment (?of territorial defense) in Slovenia and the FEC conclusions relating to recruits, be halted.

Any activity along these lines, Drnovsek believes, or rather if the realization of these conclusions were to come about, would provoke new conflicts which could defy control, and certainly are not in the interests of Slovenia or anyone else in Yugoslavia. This could only be in the interests of those forces which are trying to halt democratic development and a way of resolving the problems, and are attempting to provoke fresh crises even before the elections in the other four republics, Janez Drnovsek said in his statement to Slovene Television.

Mihajlo Markovic Denies Leaving Serb Socialists

AU2610205190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 90 p 8

[M. Pesic report: "Academician Mihajlo Markovic Denies That He Has Left the Socialist Party of Serbia"]

[Excerpts] The Zagreb VECERNJI LIST has fired yet another poisonous arrow at Serbia. The target this time is the Socialist Party of Serbia and its vice president, the academician Mihajlo Markovic, who is temporarily in the United States. In its 16 October issue, VECERNJI LIST carries on its fourth page a HINA report entitled "Disagreements in the Leadership of the Socialist Party of Serbia," in which it is claimed that Mihajlo Markovic has left the Socialist Party of Serbia and gone to the United States.

Because of this article, which is full of lies and errors, POLITIKA's editorial office received a phone call from the academician Mihajlo Markovic, who is in Philadelphia, where he is lecturing at the University of Pennsylvania. [passage omitted]

"I will come to Yugoslavia at the beginning of November for seven days to help with the election campaign of the Socialist Party of Serbia, of which I am vice president. I hope that we will win convincingly at the first real multiparty elections in Serbia," Mihajlo Markovic stressed, adding that any boycott of the elections, which the opposition has been announcing, would mean victory for those forces which spread lies about Serbia.

Otherwise, it should be said that the academician Mihajlo Markovic has been lecturing at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia for 15 years.

"I am definitely returning in December, but because of the work that awaits me in the party, I will not be lecturing next year," Professor Markovic said at the end of his conversation with POLITIKA.

Serb Ruling Party 'Deals Roughly' With Opponents

AU2810204790 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Oct p 2

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "The Socialist Party of Serbia Deals Roughly With Those Who Think Differently"]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct—The new labor legislation in Serbia and the notion of so-called technological redundancies are being used more and more frequently for dealing with those who oppose the rule of the governing party (the Socialist Party of Serbia). This is said in a letter which the Movement for the Protection of Human Rights in Yugoslavia has sent to the Presidency of Serbia and issued to the public.

Serbian Renewal Movement Two-Day Convention Held

Vuk Draskovic Elected President

LD2910220890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1131 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—The convention of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) [SPO], one of the strongest opposition parties in the Yugoslav republic of Serbia, today elected novelist Vuk Draskovic its president.

Draskovic, who had already been the party leader, will be the SRM candidate for the president of Serbia at the December 9 multi-party elections.

Draskovic said at the convention, which ended in Belgrade today, that the SRM program did not equal the program of any former movement in Serbia, including the Chetnik Movement.

He made the statement in an attempt to draw the difference between the SRM and the Chetnik Movement of Draza Mihailovic, with which the SRM actions are often linked in public.

The Chetniks of Draza Mihailovic fought against communists during World War Two. Draskovic said that "Draza's soldiers fought on the right side", but criticized them for their involvement in the fratricidal war.

He stressed that the SRM will not accept a new fratricidal war. Civil war in Serbia ended with the "declaration on National Reconciliation", which the party adopted yesterday, Draskovic said.

The SRM is convinced of its election victory. The participants in the convention, however, repeated that the party will call for a boycott of the elections if the authorities fail to accept the opposition demand that the vote-counting committees include members of several parties and that all parties be given equal treatment by public media.

Named Candidate for Serbian President

LD2910213490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—The newly elected chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO], and this party's candidate for Serbian president, is the writer Vuk Draskovic. This is what delegates at this meeting decided today, on the second day of the work of the SPO World Assembly.

The assembly also elected a party Presidium which immediately took a sacred oath. Milan Komnenic, the chairman of the Executive Committee, said: We call on Serbia to entrust us with the helm of its ship.

The convention was addressed by academician Veselin Djuretic, who said that the SPO is the embodiment of the energy which was unleashed in Kosovo in 1987, and added that the initiator of this energy is one man—Slobodan Milosevic. Djuretic publicly called on Milosev, as he put it, to rise, in the interests of Serbia and the Serbian nation and for the purpose of a fair political struggle, above the interests of the party to which he belongs.

Vuk Draskovic reacted to Djuretic's words, saying that the SPO assembly cannot request of one man that he change his political convictions. Let Milosevic go along the road he set out on. We respect the convictions of this political minority in Serbia, but let them also respect the convictions of the majority. Whose convictions are correct will be decided by the people in December, Draskovic concluded.

In the continuing work of the SPO assembly the party's program is to be adopted.

Presidium Elected; Conference Ends

AU2910195990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Novelist Vuk Draskovic has been elected president of the Serbian Renewal Movement and this party's candidate for president of Serbia. This was decided by the delegates of the World Assembly of the Serbian Renewal Movement which ended today in Belgrade's Sava Center.

The assembly elected by acclamation a (?10-member) Presidium of the party and Milan Komljenic president of the Executive Committee. The delegates also adopted a declaration on the national reconciliation of Serbs and the program and statute of the party.

At the end of the meeting there was a news conference at which Vuk Draskovic said, among other things, the following: Even if we lose the elections, we will (?unmask) them and, I believe, will organize another elections in two or three months time.

At the assembly the Serbian Renewal Movement sent an invitation to all those who want to go to Jasenovac tomorrow to pay tribute to the victims of genocide.

Draskovic Discusses Possible Boycott

LD2910232590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1824 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) [SPO]—one of the strongest opposition parties in Serbia—told a news conference here today that his party would boycott the December 9 elections, but if some other major opposition party breaks the agreement and runs in the elections, the SRM will do the same.

Serbian opposition parties have agreed to boycott the elections if the authorities do not meet their demands and secure multi-party vote-counting committees at polling stations.

Draskovic also said that if the SRM wins the parliamentary elections and the current Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic wins the presidential elections, the power will be in the hands of the parliament. Milosevic is the candidate of the Socialist Party of Serbia (former League of Communists).

If I win the presidential elections, I will reduce the powers of the president to an acceptable level, Draskovic said. The recently adopted constitution of Serbia gives great authority to the republican president, who can even, at the government's suggestion dissolve the parliament.

Serbian Democracy Movement Elects New Chairman

LD2810102790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2140 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—The New Democracy - Movement for Serbia [Nova Demokratija - Pokret za Srbiju] held its first regular assembly session today in Belgrade. In addition to electing its leadership, the party adopted a program, statute, and set of election goals.

On behalf of its 80,000 members, 214 delegates elected Serbian Executive Council Vice President Dusan Mihailovic to the post of party chairman.

The party's election goals are: the destruction of bolshevism in Serbia; putting an end to ideological civil war; national reconciliation; political and economic democracy; and a rich, strong, and unified democratic state of Serbia with its old symbols.

Opposition Parties To Appear on Belgrade Radio

AU2910193190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] The order in which Serbian political parties will appear on the first program of Belgrade Radio has been determined by drawing lots. Beginning next Thursday, 1 November, Belgrade Radio will present two parties a day, every day, except Sunday. They will be presented at two different times, in the morning between 0900 and 1000 [0800 and 0900 GMT] and then the same parties again between 1600 and 1800.

All of the 39 registered parties have entered the draw. If in the meantime some new parties register, they too will be allowed to present themselves on Belgrade Radio's first program.

Bosnian Assembly To Offer New Model for Unity

LD2910223190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Sarjevo, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina will present to ther public tomorrow, on the eve of the November session of the SFRY Assembly, its own model for a possible organization of future relations in Yugoslavia, instead of the two ones offered on federal and confederal bases.

It was said at the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly session, which is being held in Sarajevo, that the confederal model represents a historical end to Yugoslavia as a state and internationally recognized legal subject, while the proposed federal model reduces rights of republics and their sovereignty.

We are for a modern Yugoslav community in which republics are sovereign and completely equal, in which all its nations are equal, and in which the present borders remain, including Bosnia-Hercegovina as a multinational, sovereign state of equal citizens, nations, and nationalities living there President of the Assembly Zlatan Karavdic stressed in his address.

After a discussion, which is underway, a special working group will propose its views on a future Yugoslavia when the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly resumes its work tomorrow.

Bosnian Election Body Appeals for Proper Conduct

AU2910164190 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 90 p 1

[Statement of the republican committee for supervision of elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina: "Guarantee to Man"]

[Text] Following preelection activities, the Committee has come to the conclusion that national confrontations are becoming so acute that they could bring into question the entire election process.

Mistrust among different nationalities is becoming deeper and deeper and fear is spreading. The situation is characterized by announcements of parallel organs of authority, civilians arming themselves in some communes, terrorist actions being carried out on the Una railroad (the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina), and the symbols of the joint state being belittled.

We would like to remind political organizations about the obligation contained in the interparty convention on the rules of conduct during the election process according to which political organizations must support through their actions every man, all citizens, and all peoples and nationalities who live in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and guarantee that their rights, freedoms, safety, and human dignity will be preserved, and create a social and psychological climate in which every citizen can freely express his wishes and choice at the election.

Citizens expect the state organs to remove in a democratic way the causes of deterioration in interethnic relations and to energetically and timely curb all acts of violence and lawlessness with the instruments of a rule-of-law country.

The efficiency of state organs depends on the support of political organizations. They are invited to critically assess their work and to constructively contribute to the calming of the situation in the republic.

Bosnian Muslim Party Factions Fail To Reconcile

AU2810211590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 90 p 3

[M. Lucic report: "Too Thin a Thread for Ripped Seams"]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo—The reconciliation negotiations between two Muslim parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Party of Democratic Action and the Muslim Bosnian Organization [Muslimanska Bosnjacka Organizacija], failed. This is now quite certain because the leaders of the Muslim Bosnian Organization told journalists yesterday that they are breaking off talks with the Party of Democratic Action. It is known that this "peace mission" was conducted under the auspices of Fikret Abdic, member of the Party of Democratic Action.

The leaders of the Muslim Bosnian Organization deny responsibility for the split in the leadership of the Party of Democratic Action, which they are blamed for, and claim that this was planned by the leadership of the Party of Democratic Action so that the party could get rid of those who think differently. The Party of Democratic Action was ready to do this even before Adil Zulfikarpasic, former vice president of the Party of Democratic Action and now leader of the Muslim Bosnian Organization, and the like-minded people publically expressed their disagreement with some moves of the Party of Democratic Action, since their warnings were ignored in the party. They were warning that the party's image was being changed, that the religious aspect was becoming too pronounced, and that certain militant groups were behaving with increasing aggressiveness, something that was in contradiction with the democratic orientations in the program of the Party of Democratic Action. [passage omitted]

New Muslim Party Founded in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD2810162590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Mostar, 28 Oct (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the Muslim Boshniak Organization [Muslimanska Bosnjacka Organizacija—MBO] was held in Mostar today. In the presence of about 200 party supporters and members, the party's election program and declaration was presented, and the leadership of the city committee was elected.

The founding meeting of the MBO in Mostar—the party which is the last to appear in the center of Hercegovina on the eve of the parliamentary elections—was also greeted by representatives of the Serbian Democrtic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka], the Croatian Democratic Community and the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative.

Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia Faces Split

AU2810205090 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 90 p 3

[Croatian News Agency HINA report: "Barricades for Bosnia, Too"]

[Text] "The Bosanska Krajina regional branch of the Serbian Democratic Party supports the state organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina in their efforts to prevent the registration of the Serbian National Council in Bosnia-Hercegovina." This was stated by Milorad Milakovic, member of the Main Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina and president of the Council of the Serbian Democratic Party of Prijedor, in a communique issued to the public. With the consent of the members of the Main Committee of the Bosanska Krajina regional branch of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Milorad Milakovic informs the public that, following the change of leadership of the Main Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party of Banja Luka, there has been a definite split in the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Milakovic said that the split occurred because the party was treated as private property by two of its leaders, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Velibor Ostojic, president of the Executive Council. In the public statement Milakovic claims that the Serbian Democratic Party is led "by people involved in smuggling and who have dubious pasts." The split also occurred because of disagreements with regard to the founding of the Serbian National Council and, as pointed out, because of "the scenario according to which events in Bosnia-Hercegovina should follow those in Croatia; in other words, the situation should be characterized by barricades, war, and other terrorist actions."

Democratic Labor Party Founded in Bosnia

LD2910211590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Cazin, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—The Higher Court of Bihac today registered the Democratic Labor Party [Demokratska Partija Rada] of Cazin. Husein Ikotic Bato has been elected president of this party of 250 members.

Splits Alleged in Serb Socialist Party of Kosovo

AU3010150290 Skopje FLAKE E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 26 Oct 90 p 4

[Blerim Reka report: "Demand for the Return of Constitutionality to Kosovo"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] **Open Splits in the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in Kosovo**

The name of the new chairman of the SPS Council for Kosovo is now known. He is Dr. Jagos Zelenovic, who was elected by secret ballot in front of his rival Zivorad Igic at the founding assembly of the Kosovo SPS. The truth is that the resumed proceedings of this conference were spent in violent argument and mutual intolerance between two groups, that of the indigenous Serbs and that of the prewar colonists who settled in Kosovo. One had the impression that the "fighters" for the truth about Kosovo, who were the most active in the last two to three years for the burial of Kosovar autonomy, fared worst, because, judging by the ripostes and the expressions of dissatisfaction produced by some speakers at this conference, they were left to one side. What happened, therefore, was a repeat of the Kosovo League of Communists 15th conference held last autumn, at which, as is known, there were also disagreements and the first splits in the ranks of the Kosovo Communists were unveiled to the public eye. The only difference was that at this founding conference of the Kosovo SPS there were no "Albanian culprits" who could be accused of "destroying party unity," and it had to be admitted that even without

them the remaining Serbian and Montenegrin members of the former Kosovo Communist organization will no longer be united. This was evident in Tomislav Sekulic's own refusal, even after many attempts at persuasion, to stand as a candidate, and the election of Momcilo Trajkovic (in his absence) to the Main Council of the Kosovo SPS, in spite of the fact that he refused, too categorically, to be a candidate at the first part of the conference. Disunity was also evident in the threats of many Kosovo SPS members to leave the ranks of the party if it continues to include such people as Dr. Rados Smiljkovic, and in the failure to elect the first candidate put forward for the Kosovo SPS chairmanship, Zivorad Igic.

If this party conference proceeded in such a way, this cannot be said of the normal electoral activity of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [DSK] throughout Kosovo, which is now in the concluding stages of electing communal delegates to the DSK's constitutive assembly.

Slovene Unions Sever Ties With Yugoslav TU

LD2910233190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—The Council of the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Slovenia has today decided "to completely discontinue until further notice the implementation of its rights and duties as a member of the Independent Trade Unions of Yugoslavia because of the newly created situation and relations in the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Yugoslavia."

A statement from its session does not include any concrete reasons for this move.

New Serb Nationalist Party Formed in Vojvodina

LD2710215890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—The Vojvodina political scene has been enriched by another party. After the Croats, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Ruthenes, and Ukrainians, now the Serbs have a political organization with a national flavor: the All-Serbian National Movement [Svesrpski Narodni Pokret—SNP].

At its founding assembly, held today in Novi Sad, the delegates approved the Movement's program and statute, and elected the party's top leadership.

The basic aims of the SNP are the preservation and further development of the achievements and values of "the anti-bureaucratic revolution" of October 1988, the reconciliation of all Serbs, the unification of Serbia and Montenegro, and the effective resolution of the Kosovo problem. The Movement, it says in the program, will advocate help for imperiled fellow nationals in Yugoslavia, and an end to the split in the Orthodox Church, which took place in 1963.

Members of the new political organization, which has come into being only one and a half months before the elections in the republic, request that the return of members of the Karadjordjevic family to Serbia be permitted, and that their confiscated property and citizenship be returned to them. They propose that the Serbian flag be the present one, but without the five-pointed star, that the coat of arms be a white double-headed eagle with a shield, cross, and four symbols, and that the national anthem be "God Give Us Justice" [Boze Pravde].

If Croatia, as the legal inheritor of the former independent state of Croatia, secedes from Yugoslavia, it must, as a state defeated in World War II, conclude a peace agreement with Serbia and provide compensation for all damage caused, in accordance with the provisions of the Hague Convention and other international norms—reads the Movement's program.

Dr. Sava Grujic, its initiator and one of the former leaders of "Solidarnost," was elected chairman of the All-Serbian National Movement, while Petar Terzic and Vlado Krunic were elected vice chairmen.

Macedonian Action Party Calls Rally for 4 Nov

LD2910220490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Skopje, 29 Oct (TANJUG)—Assessing that at the time of marked democratization of inter-ethnic relations in Europe, the possibility has been created for the Macedonian people to take its fate into its own hands, MAAK—Movement of Pan-Macedonian Action—on Monday appealed on all Macedonians, in Yugoslavia and beyond, to rally on November 4 at the first congress of all opposition parties from the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The appeal sets out that the congress could bring about a "National Accord on Creating an All-Macedonian Front KSNDF [expansion unknown]". The unification of a number of Macedonian political parties with identical national goals in their programs was thus indirectly announced.

The MAAK appeal also noted that in this way a strong national political nucleus would have been formed, which would take over power in the republic of Macedonia and make it a "free, independent and sovereign state, with internationally-acknowledged state and legal sovereignty." A Macedonia such as this alone, in MAAK's view, can participate on equal footing in the present and future negotiations on relations in Yugoslavia and in the Balkans.

MAAK on Monday also made public its list of candidates (with 110 names) for the first post-war multi-party elections to be held in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on November 11.